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# FOLK-LORE

A QUARTERLY REVIEW  
OF  
MYTH, TRADITION, INSTITUTION, & CUSTOM  
BEING

THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY  
And incorporating THE ARCHEOLOGICAL REVIEW and  
THE FOLK-LORE JOURNAL

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## ERRATA.

Page 169, line 11 from bottom, for *numher* read *number*.

Page 174 *n*, for *Albrigthon* read *Albrighton*.

Page 192 *n*, for "° read "°.





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II. The Society shall consist of Members being subscribers to its funds of One Guinea annually, payable in advance on the 1st of January in each year.

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IV. Every Member whose subscription shall not be in arrear shall be entitled to a copy of each of the ordinary works published by the Society.

V. Any Member who shall be one year in arrear of his subscription shall cease to be a Member of the Society, unless the Council shall otherwise determine.

VI. The affairs of the Society, including the election of Members, shall be conducted by a Council, consisting of a President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Secretary, and eighteen other Members. The Council shall have power to fill up any vacancies in their number that may arise during their year of office.

VII. An Annual General Meeting of the Society shall be held in London at such time and place as the Council, from time to time may appoint. No Member whose subscription is in arrear shall be entitled to vote or take part in the proceedings or the Meeting.

VIII. At such Annual General Meeting all the Members of the Council shall retire from office, but shall be eligible for re-election.

IX. The accounts of the receipts and expenditure of the Society shall be audited annually by two Auditors, to be elected at the General Meeting.

X. The Council may elect as honorary Members persons distinguished in the study of Folklore, provided that the total number of such honorary Members shall not exceed twenty.

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# Folk-Lore.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.

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VOL. XIII.]

MARCH, 1902.

[No. I.

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WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 6th, 1901.

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. E. W. Brabrook) in the Chair.

THE minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of Mr. H. H. R. Southam and Mr. Gerasimos Zervos as new members was announced.

The deaths of Mr. G. W. Speth, Miss F. Grove, Mr. D. Mackinlay, Sir W. Besant, Miss E. Harris, and Mr. H. D. Skrine, and the resignations of Mr. B. Hamilton, Mr. P. S. Jeffrey, Dr. Cobb, Mr. R. H. Wilson, Sir H. Walpole, Mrs. Corry, Mr. Oelsner, Mr. Scott Elliott, and Mrs. Newton, were also announced.

Mr. E. Lovett read a paper on "Tallies and their Survivals," which he illustrated by a collection of original specimens, and in the discussion which followed Mr. Gomme, Miss Freer, and the President took part.

Miss Goodrich Freer read a paper on "Hebridean Folklore" [*infra*, p. 29], which was followed by a discussion in which Mr. Nutt, Mr. Lovett, and Mr. Gomme took part. Votes of thanks were accorded to Mr. Lovett and Miss Freer for their papers.

The following books and pamphlets, which had been



presented to the Society since the last Meeting, were laid on the table:

*Catalogue of Prehistoric Antiquities in the Madras Government Museum*, by R. Bruce Foote; *Report on the Administration of the Madras Government Museum and Connemara Public Library, 1900-01*; *Nayars of Malabar*, by F. Fawcett, and *Todas of the Nilgiris*, by E. Thurston and others, all presented by the Government of Madras; *Annual Report of British New Guinea, 1899, 1900*, presented by the Government of Queensland; *Wötjakische Sprachproben*, vols. i and ii., by Yrgô Wichmann, presented by the Société Finno-Ougrienne; *Die Wiederholungslieder der Estnischen Volkspoesie*, by Oscar Kallas, presented by the Author; *The Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1895-96 and 1896-97*; *The Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, and *Place Names of Cambridgeshire*, by W. W. Skeat, by exchange; *The Transactions of the Cymmrodorion Society, 1899-1900*, presented by the Society; and *The American Antiquarian*, vol. xxiii. part iv., 1901, presented by the Society.

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### WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 5th, 1901.

#### JOINT MEETING OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY AND THE VIKING CLUB.

THE Chair was taken by Mr. E. W. Brabrook, the President of the Society.

The minutes of the previous Meeting of the Society were read and confirmed.

The Secretary of the Society exhibited a parchment charm sent by Mr. C. C. Bell of Epworth, Lincolnshire, and read a note thereon [*infra*, p. 92, and Plate I.].

Mr. Lovett exhibited several sets of astragals, and also a

Vessel Cup from Whitby in Yorkshire, upon which he read a note [*infra*, p. 94]. In the discussion which followed, Miss Burne, the Rev. E. W. Clarke, and Mr. Janvier took part. Mr. Lovett having intimated that it was his intention to present the objects he had exhibited to the Society, a vote of thanks was accorded to him.

Mr. N. W. Thomas exhibited some stones from the valley of the Avon in South Hants, sent by Mr. Auberon Herbert, and alleged by him to be totem-stones. The Chairman having offered some observations on the exhibit, a vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Herbert for having given the Society an opportunity of inspecting the stones.

A communication from Mr. H. A. Rose, Superintendent of Ethnography in the Punjâb, on the subject of "Unlucky Children" was read [*infra*, p. 63].

The chair having then been vacated by Mr. Brabrook, and taken by Mr. G. M. Atkinson, President of the Viking Club, Mr. Clarence A. Seyler read a paper on "The Beowulf Legend," upon which Mr. Nutt offered some observations.

The Meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to Mr. Seyler for his paper.

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WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 22nd, 1902.

THE 24th ANNUAL MEETING.

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. E. W. Brabrook) in the Chair.

THE minutes of the last Annual Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Annual Report and Balance Sheet for the year 1901 were duly presented, and upon the motion of Professor Haddon, seconded by Dr. Gaster, it was resolved that the same be received and adopted.

Balloting papers for the election of President, Vice-Presidents, Council, and Officers for the year 1902 having been distributed, Messrs. Holmes and Tozer were duly appointed scrutineers for the ballot.

The President then delivered his Presidential Address [which will be found *in extenso* on pp. 12-28].

The result of the ballot was then announced by the President, and the following ladies and gentlemen who had been nominated by the Council were declared to have been duly elected, viz.:—

*As President:* Mr. E. W. Brabrook.

*As Vice-Presidents:* The Hon. J. Abercromby, the Rt. Hon. Lord Avebury, Miss C. S. Burne, Mr. Edward Clodd, Mr. G. Laurence Gomme, Mr. E. Sidney Hartland, Mr. Andrew Lang, Mr. Alfred Nutt, Professor York Powell, Professor J. Rhys, the Rev. Professor A. H. Sayce, and Professor E. B. Tylor.

*As Members of Council:* Miss Lucy Broadwood, Mr. E. K. Chambers, Mr. W. Crooke, Mr. F. T. Elworthy, Miss Margaret Ffennell, Dr. J. G. Frazer, Dr. Gaster, Miss Eleanor Hull, Mr. E. F. im Thurn, Professor W. P. Ker, Mr. R. R. Marett, Mr. J. L. Myres, Mr. S. E. Bouverie Pusey, Mr. T. F. Ordish, Mr. W. H. D. Rouse, Mr. C. G. Seligmann, Mr. Walter W. Skeat, Mr. C. Tabor, Mr. H. B. Wheatley, and Mr. A. R. Wright.

*As Hon. Treasurer:* Mr. Edward Clodd

*As Hon. Auditors:* Mr. F. G. Green and Mr. N. W. Thomas.

*As Secretary:* Mr. F. A. Milne.

On the motion of Mr. Clodd, seconded by Mr. Hartland, a vote of thanks was accorded to the President for his address, and on the motion of the President, seconded by Mr. Gomme, a vote of thanks was accorded to the outgoing Members of the Council, viz.: Mr. Courthope Bowen, Mr. F. C. Conybeare, Mr. J. E. Crombie, Professor Haddon, Mr. A. F. Major, and Professor B. C. A. Windle, for their services



## THE TWENTY-FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

22nd JANUARY, 1902.

THE Council have the honour to lay before the Society their twenty-fourth Annual Report.

The number of members now on the roll is 393. While it is much to be regretted that there should be any diminution, however small, in the number of members, upon which the Society has to rely to fulfil its main function as a publishing Society, this is not surprising; for the present is not a favourable time for the expansion of learned societies, the calls upon the public purse during the past two years having been so abnormally heavy, and being likely to be still further increased. The Council would impress upon every member the necessity of enlisting recruits if the work of the Society is to be kept up to the level of past years.

During the past year the deaths of members of the Society have been beyond the average.

In the death of Miss Grove the Council have lost one of their most active and energetic members. The formation of the Lecture Committee was entirely due to her initiative, and she was ever to the fore in devising means for spreading a knowledge of the Society and its work in quarters where but for the existence of the Committee that knowledge would have been little likely to penetrate. Among other losses by death the Council have to record those of Sir Walter Besant, Mr. J. L. André, and Mr. H. D. Skrine, all old members of the Society.

The resignations have been somewhat more than in previous years, and there has been also a slight falling off in the number of new members.

The following meetings, at which papers were read before the Society, were held in the course of the year 1901, viz.:—

- Jan.* 16. The President's Address : "Some Problems of Early Religion in the Light of South African Folklore."
- Feb.* 20. "Some Notes on Animal Superstitions from Asia Minor." Mr. N. W. Thomas.  
 "The Games of British Guiana." Mr. E. F. im Thurn.
- March* 20. "A Note on Primitive Orientation." Dr. W. H. R. Rivers.  
 "The Legend of the Sand Rope and other Futile Tasks." Miss G. M. Godden.
- April* 17. "On Astragals." Mr. E. Lovett.  
 "On Persian Folklore." Miss E. Sykes.
- May* 15. "Dischi Sacri." Mr. F. T. Elworthy.
- June* 19. "Japanese Gohei." Mr. W. G. Aston.  
 "The Spirit of Vegetation." Mr. E. Tregear.
- Nov.* 6. "Tallies and their Survivals." Mr. E. Lovett.  
 "Hebridean Folklore." Miss A. Goodrich Freer.
- Dec.* 4. "Notes on Unlucky Children." Mr. H. A. Rose.  
 "The Beowulf Legend." Mr. Clarence A. Seyler.

Several of the meetings have been enlivened by the exhibition of some exceedingly good lantern slides, and at the meeting in April Miss Violet Turner gave an exhibition of the game of Astragals (locally known as "snobs") as played in Derbyshire.

The following objects have been exhibited at the meetings, viz :—

- (1) A Kim Maiden or Dolly copied from one made at Duns in Berwickshire fifty years ago. By Mrs. Gomme.
- (2) A Wren-bush from county Wicklow. By Dr. Haddon.
- (3) Two specimens of Yule Dos (Christmas cakes) from Newcastle-on-Tyne. By Dr. Haddon.
- (4) Photographs and drawings illustrative of "The Legend of the Sand Rope and other Futile Tasks." By Miss G. M. Godden.
- (5) Photographs of (A) the old pipe graveyard at Salruck, Connemara, and (B) a wedding dance-mask of plaited straw still used on the west coast of Ireland. Mrs. W. Price.
- (6) A number of Astragals, including illustrations of the modern game. Mr. E. Lovett.
- (7) Photographs of terra-cotta and marble groups in the British Museum representing girls playing with Astragals. Mr. E. Lovett.
- (8) Crescents and discs used as amulets and charms in various parts of the world. By Mr. E. Lovett.
- (9) Some charms against the Evil Eye from Portugal and Italy. By Miss Burne.
- (10) A collection of original specimens of tallies. By Mr. E. Lovett.
- (11) A parchment charm from Bradford, Yorkshire. By Mr. C. C. Bell.
- (12) A vessel-cup from Whitby, Yorkshire. By Mr. E. Lovett.
- (13) Stones described as Totem-stones from South Hants. By Mr. Auberon Herbert.



On the 19th June a joint meeting of the Anthropological Institute and the Society was held at 3, Hanover Square, when the valuable collection of Musquakie beadwork and other objects presented to the Society by Miss M. A. Owen was exhibited, and discussed by Mr. Hartland, Dr. Haddon, Mr. Henry Balfour, and others.

The Council have deposited the collection in the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Cambridge for exhibition, where it is available for purposes of study.

Several of the objects exhibited at the evening meetings during the year have been presented by the exhibitors to the Society, and placed in the Society's case in the same Museum. The thanks of the Society have been given to the respective donors, and also to the authorities of the Museum for receiving the deposit.

The attendance at the evening meetings of the Society has been good throughout the year.

The Council desire to impress upon members once again that any friends they may like to bring with them to the meetings are always welcome, and that the interest of the meetings will be much enhanced by the exhibition of any Folklore objects which either they or their friends may have in their possession.

By the courtesy of the Council of the Anthropological Institute the books forming the Society's library have been removed from the Secretary's rooms in Lincoln's Inn and placed in the shelves of the Institute at 3, Hanover Square. The thanks of the Society are due to the Institute for undertaking to house its library, and it is hoped that the books may be found more serviceable to members of the Society than they have been heretofore.

The Council are glad to announce that Mrs. Kate Lee has most kindly undertaken to fill Miss Grove's place as Hon. Secretary of the Lecture Committee. The Committee has met, and endeavours are being made to organise courses of lectures, which it is hoped may prove successful.

The Society has issued during the year the 12th volume of its new Transactions, *Folklore*, and the Council desire

to thank Miss Burne for the valuable assistance she has rendered to the Society in editing the volume, and Mr. Thurn and Mr. Gerish for their liberal contributions towards the cost of illustrating their respective papers. The growing interest evinced in the Transactions is shown by the fact that during the year there were 65 contributors as against 40 in 1900, while the number of articles, letters, and reviews contributed was 116 as against 99.

The Council venture to think the journal has not been unworthy of the Society, and are confident that so long as it remains under its present editorship it will keep up to its general level of excellence. The Society is again indebted to Mr. A. R. Wright for the Index to the volume.

In addition to the Transactions the Society has issued two other volumes during the year, viz. *County Folklore*, vol. ii., *North Riding of Yorkshire, York and the Ainsty*, by Mrs. Gutch, being the extra volume for 1899; and *The Games of Argyleshire*, by Dr. R. C. Maclagan, being the extra volume for 1900. Mr. Seligmann has also at the request of the Council prepared a number of Queries on Totemism, which have been published with a Preface by Mr. Hartland. It is proposed to distribute these queries, along with copies of Mr. Hartland's last Presidential Address, among missionaries and others working in Africa; and in this way it is hoped that much useful information may be elicited.

As announced a year ago, the extra volume for 1901 will be a further instalment of *County Folklore*, consisting of Mr. Black's Orkney and Shetland collection. The work is now in the press, and will, it is hoped, be in the hands of members by the middle of the year. The Council have not yet finally decided what is to be the extra volume for 1902, but hope to be in a position to do so at an early date.

The Society was represented at the meeting of the British Association at Glasgow by Mr. Crooke, Mr. Elworthy, Sir John and Lady Evans, Mr. A. J. Evans, Dr. H. O. Forbes, Dr. W. H. R. Rivers, Mr. J. L. Myres, Professor Rhys, Mr. W. W. Skeat, and Mr. Brabrook.



The conditional grant referred to in the last report as having been made by the Council in aid of the scheme for providing lantern slides representing scenes and objects of scientific interest in co-operation with the Anthropological Institute has been duly met by a grant of like amount from the funds of the Institute. The Council regret that the joint committee appointed to carry out the scheme have not drawn on the Society for any part of the grant during the past year, but this circumstance is no doubt due in a great measure to the work of the Lecture Committee having been interrupted by the sudden death of Miss Grove, and to the considerable interval which elapsed between her death and the appointment of an Hon. Secretary of the Lecture Committee in her place.

The Council have appointed Mrs. Kate Lee as a member of the joint committee as well as Hon. Secretary of the Lecture Committee, and have little doubt that the work of both committees will be pushed vigorously forward.

The joint committee appointed by the Society and the Anthropological Institute to consider the question of securing a common home for the two Societies has met, and submitted a series of recommendations for the consideration of their respective Councils, but in the absence of any definite proposals the Council have felt themselves unable to accept these recommendations unreservedly. It is hoped, however, that in the course of the year they may have some practical proposal before them, and that there may be no serious obstacles, financial or otherwise, to their being favourably entertained.

The Council submit herewith the annual accounts and balance sheet duly audited, and the balloting list for the Council and officers for the ensuing year.

By order of the Council,

E. W. BRABROOK,

*President.*



## Annual Report of the Council.

RECEIPTS.		£	s.	d.	PAYMENTS.		£	s.	d.
To Balance carried forward from 1900:—					By Printing Account (Publications):—				
On Deposit Account		...	...	150 0 0	Messrs. Nichols & Sons—				
On Current Account		...	...	48 1 3	<i>Folk-Lore</i> , Vol. xi. 2, 3, and 4,				
Subscriptions, 1902 (5)		...	...	55 5 0	and Vol. xii. 1, 2, 3		...	256 12 10	
" " 1901 (346)		...	...	33 6 0	Messrs. Ballantyne—				
" " 1900 (18)		...	...	18 18 0	<i>The Games of Argyllshire</i>		...	78 17 4	
To Sale of Publications, per Messrs.					Messrs. Maclehoose—				
Nutt:—					<i>County Folk-Lore</i> Vol. II.				
Third and Fourth Quarters,					(Yorkshire—N. Riding)		...	128 10 0	
1900		...	...	27 5 8	Miscellaneous Printing		...		464 0 2
First and Second Quarters,					Engraving Blocks, &c., for Illustrations		...		30 0 9
1901		...	...	57 9 8	Postages, Despatch of Volumes, &c., Messrs.		...		14 4 6
Donation towards cost of <i>The</i>					Nutt (Nov. 1900—July 1901)		...		57 4 6
<i>Games of Argyllshire</i>		...	...	...	Engrossing Address of Condolence to King		...		2 2 0
Donation towards cost of Illustrations in <i>Folk-</i>					Edward VII.		...		3 1 0
<i>Lore</i>		...	...	...	Expenses of Exhibition and carriage of the		...		2 6 3
Interest on money on deposit		...	...	...	" Owen Collection		...		7 7 0
		...	...	...	Expenses of removing and cataloguing Library		...		
		...	...	...	Hire of Meeting Room		...		
		...	...	...	Expenses of Evening Meetings—		...		
		...	...	...	Advertising		...	2 14 0	
		...	...	...	Refreshments		...	3 18 6	
		...	...	...	Index of Archeological Papers (A. Constable &		...	6 12 6	
		...	...	...	Co.)		...	2 10 0	
		...	...	...	Subscription to Congress of Archeological		...		
		...	...	...	Societies		...	1 0 0	
		...	...	...	Expenses of Lecture Committee		...	1 5 6	
		...	...	...	Expenses of Lantern and Operator at two		...		
		...	...	...	Meetings		...	2 10 0	
		...	...	...	Secretary's Salary and Poundage		...	56 16 0	
		...	...	...	Petty Cash Expenses (Editorial, &c.)		...		
		...	...	...	ditto (Secretary)		...	6 10 6	
		...	...	...	ditto Bank and other Dis-		...		
		...	...	...	counts		...	1 14 8	
		...	...	...	Balance in Bank on Current Account		...	10 5 8	
		...	...	...			...	52 8 11	
		...	...	...			...	£713 14 9	

Examined and found correct January 22nd, 1902.

F. G. GREEN,  
N. W. THOMAS, } *Auditors.*EDWARD CLODD, *Treasurer.*

## BALANCE SHEET, DECEMBER, 1901.

LIABILITIES.		£	s.	d.	ASSETS.		£	s.	d.
Printing of Publications:—					Subscriptions for 1901 and earlier years				
<i>Folk-Lore</i> , Vol. xii., Part 4 (say) ... ..					outstanding ... ..				
<i>County Folk-Lore</i> , Vol. iii., Orkney and Shetland					Less Subscriptions for 1902 paid in				
(say) ... ..					advance ... ..				
Secretary's Poundage ... ..					Messrs. Nutt (Sale of Publications) ... ..				
Messrs. Nutt (wrapping and despatch of volumes,					Balance in Bank ... ..				
&c.) ... ..					The stock in hand, consisting of upwards of 2,000				
ditto. (50 copies " <i>Saxo Grammaticus</i> " ...) ...					volumes, is estimated to considerably more than				
Simpson and Co., Binding Account ... ..					exceed the difference of ... ..				

## PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

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OUR excellent friends and fellow labourers, the members of the Society of Anthropology of Paris, who have lately been so genial and kindly in their expressions of goodwill to this Society, and its sister Society the Anthropological Institute, change their President annually, and take the opportunity of getting two addresses, one from the retiring President and one from the new one. I mention this because I find that in the address which my friend Dr. Chervin delivered last January, when he ascended the *fauteuil de la Présidence* that he has filled with so much distinction, he used words with regard to his Society which I desire to adopt as fitly expressing my own opinions with regard to the Folk-Lore Society. He said: "We recruit our adherents from the four cardinal points of the scientific horizon. The very diversity of our origins, of our professions, of our education contributes powerfully to our strength, for the smallest fact is examined by each of us with his personal pre-occupations for the greatest benefit of all. It appears to me that we are a veritable Society of Mutual Help—a Friendly Society—applied to scientific researches." When I read this I derived some much-needed light on the problem how it came to be in the contemplation of my brethren of the Council and of the last General Meeting that there could be any fitness of things in my elevation to this chair. I assure you that I have risen to address you under an oppressive sense of the greatness of my predecessors.

I do not specially refer to those noble Earls—Verulam, Beauchamp, and Strafford—who were influenced by our founder and first director, Mr. W. J. Thoms, when he was deputy librarian of the House of Lords, to honour us with the patronage of their historic names in the first few years



of the existence of our Society. I do refer to Andrew Lang, whose literary skill has made folklore popular, while his enlightened scepticism has kept it discreet; to Laurence Gomme, who may be called our co-founder, and whose addresses contributed so much to form our scientific methods; to Edward Clodd, who boldly asserted the principle of continuity as the key to the history of religions; to Alfred Nutt, a past-master in the poetry and literature of our subject; to Sidney Hartland, the zealous advocate of its practical utility. What message have I to offer which has not been better told by these? I have none, and I will not therefore attempt to do more than to repeat what I said when I had the honour to address the Anthropological Section of the British Association in 1898, and to draw your attention to anything bearing upon the views I then expressed which is afforded by recent researches of our members and others.

I then said that a generalisation for which we are fast accumulating material in folklore is that of the tendency of mankind to develop the like fancies and ideas at the like stage of intellectual infancy, akin to the generalisation that the stages of the life of an individual man present a marked analogy to the corresponding stages in the history of mankind at large, and to the generalisation that existing savage races present in their intellectual development a marked analogy to the condition of the earlier races of mankind. The fancies and ideas of the child resemble closely the fancies and ideas of the savage, and the fancies and ideas of primitive man. I further ventured to say that I did not see anything inherently unreasonable in the generalisation that the group of theories and practices which constitutes the great province of man's emotions and mental operations expressed in the term "religion" has passed through the same stages and produced itself in the same way from the earliest rude beginnings of the religious sentiment in primeval man as every other mental exertion;

and that it is not an exception to any general law of progress and of continuity, which may be found to prevail in any other part of man's nature.

I am well aware of the logical weakness of any argument based upon mere analogy. As Darwin says, "Analogy may be a deceitful guide." What we require in this branch of science, as in every other, is a large basis of facts for induction. Analogy, however, is a very useful handmaid to science; and these particular analogies are led up to by the establishment of similar analogies in regard to the physical nature of man. It is seventy years since von Baer discovered that in the life of the embryo you have a representation of all the stages of animal existence, from the lowest to the highest, and later observers have traced in the life of a single embryo the several appearances of animal life in, successive geological epochs. It is true in physical matters therefore, as well as in psychical matters, that the individual and the general pass through the same phases of continuity. In seeking to apply this analogy to the province of religion, I must ask you to allow as wide a boundary and as liberal a definition to that province as you can, so as to include all man's dealings with the unknown.

Our illustrious member, Mr. Frazer, between the writing of the first edition of the *Golden Bough* and that of the second edition, experienced some change of view on this subject, and with that candour which is the distinguishing characteristic of men like Darwin and himself, has frankly stated it. Originally, he was of opinion that magic was a part of religion; lately, he has learned to distinguish between them. Now he defines magic as that which assumes the expected result to follow as a necessary consequence of the means prescribed to secure it; religion, as that which seeks to obtain what it wishes by propitiation or conciliation of the higher powers who may either grant or withhold the gifts at their pleasure. May I venture to suggest that this definition is hardly a perfect one? Does the idea of propitiatory in-



vocation never enter into a magical ceremony? and does that of necessary consequence never enter into a religious observance? With regard to the first question, Mr. Frazer himself quotes cases where in magic an attempt is made to win the favour of spirits by prayer and sacrifice, but he regards these as exceptional, and exhibiting magic tinged and alloyed with religion.

Every devout believer in any religion necessarily thinks his own religion the absolutely true one, and probably considers himself bound to the logical conclusion that every other religion is false. How far that may be so is not for us to inquire. For the purpose of tracing out the development of religion we place all religions on the same plane. For the sake of illustration, we may have to refer to the religion of the civilised world with which we are most familiar. We shall do so with all respectful reverence, but with perfect freedom. Perhaps, after all, the blessed Sir Thomas More was right when he asked, "*An varium ac multiplicem expetens cultum, Deus aliud inspiret alii?*" "Whether the different forms of religion may not all come from God, who may inspire men in a different manner, and be pleased with this variety?" That, however, is not a question for us.

Acting on this principle of taking the most familiar illustrations, I would ask whether the idea of constraint and coercion, which is part of Mr. Frazer's definition of magic, is absent from the narrative of Jacob wrestling with the angel or from the words—

"God's hands or bound or open are  
As Moses or Elijah prays."

In other words, whether, if the definition suggested by Mr. Frazer is adopted as generally correct, both magic and religion are not parts of one great province of man's mental operations, which interact on each other, and must be viewed as a whole.

Mr. Frazer speaks of the principle of make-believe as "so



dear to children," and gives many examples of its adoption by savages. It points to one of the analogies we have suggested as existing. Let us see whether the analogy does not go further. In the life of a child there is a long time previous to birth and a short time after birth of apparently absolute unconsciousness. So there was probably a time in the early history of man when he had not formed any religious idea whatever. The child presently becomes conscious of the existence of beings, friendly rather than hostile, to whom he can communicate his wants by means of cries. These beings either give him what he cries for, in which case he generalises that he can always get what he wants if he cries loud and long enough, and that is magic; or they do not give him what he cries for, but give him something else, in which case he learns the advantage of propitiating them, and that is religion. Both these operations can go on very well together, the nurse being coerced and the mother propitiated, or *vice versa*; and this is what we find among the religions of savages.

We may now turn for a while to the writings of another honoured folklorist, my predecessor Mr. Andrew Lang. In his *Making of Religion* he collects together the evidences of the first dim surmises as to a Supreme Being, leading to belief in a kind of germinal Supreme Being among Australian and other savages. He offers no opinion as to the origin of their surmises and beliefs, but thinks it probable that as soon as man had the idea of making things, he might conjecture as to a Maker of things which he himself had not made and could not make. He sums up the evidence as to Australian beliefs and ethics as follows: "A watchful being observes and rewards the conduct of men; he is named with reverence, if named at all; his abode is the heavens; he is the Master and Lord of things; his lessons soften the heart;" and Mr. Lang holds that "the religion patronised by the Australian Supreme Being, and inculcated in his mysteries, is actually used to

counteract the immoral character which natives acquire by associating with Anglo-Saxon Christians." He thinks that the conception of a Creator thus formed is original, or is very early, and that it has been succeeded by conceptions which are less noble; and he accounts for this by a recurrence to the "old degeneration theory." Advancing social conditions, he says, compelled men into degeneration. Granting a relatively pure starting point, degeneration from it must accompany every step of civilisation to a certain distance.

Mr. Hartland, in his address last year, dealt with this subject at length in a masterly manner, and I should not again refer to it except for the consideration that the degeneration theory to which Mr. Lang has reverted seems to imply a contradiction of the general law of continuity which we expect to find ruling in matters of religion as much as in other matters. It sounds almost a paradox to say, as Mr. Lang does, that progress in civilisation necessarily involves degeneration in religion. What he has said in answer to criticisms on his work, "I doubt if we have a single ethical or religious idea which the lowest savages do not possess among their ideas" (*F. L.* x. 43) is, perhaps, profoundly true; but if it is true of the "lowest savages," it must be equally true of all mankind. These dim surmises of a germinal Supreme Being cannot have been altogether lost, but will surely develop as other ideas develop.

In his original inquiry into the beliefs of the Australian aborigines in the first edition of his work, Mr. Lang had not before him the collections made by Mr. Curr from the reports of local observers, and he does not appear to have used them in the preparation of the second edition. It may be interesting to see how far they confirm his views. Many of them are simply negative, and these we are justified in disregarding, for there can be no proof of a negative. Others are more in point. Thus, Mr. Foelsche said of the beliefs of the Larrakia tribe at Port Darwin, "A



very good man called Mangarrara lives amongst the stars at a place called Teeladla. He made all that there is upon earth except the Blackfellows. He never dies, and loves the blacks. Another good man called Nanganburra lives in the bowels of the earth at a place called Abigooga. In past ages he made one blackfellow and taught him how to make other blacks. He takes account of their good and bad deeds, and marks them down. When blacks die, if they have been good, he gives them a pass to Mangarrara, with whom they live amongst the stars; those who have been bad are sent into a place far into the interior of the earth called Omar, where there is a large fire. Deep under this is a large lake called Burcoot, where lives always a black named Madju-it-madju-it, who regulates the tides by means of the moon and never dies." That these savages should be aware of the correlation of tides with the moon is interesting. Mr. Green said of the Dieyerie tribe north of Mount Freeling, 630 miles to the north of Adelaide, that they suppose that man and all other beings were created by the moon at the bidding of the Mooramoorra, that man was first created in the form of a lizard, and prayed to Mooramoorra for heat to enable him to catch the emu, when the sun was created in compliance. (This duplication of sound in names is another curious point of analogy between savages and children.) Mr. Valentine said of the Doorra tribe at Mount Remarkable that they believe in the existence of God. Mr. Fowler said of the tribe at Yorke's Peninsula, South Australia, that they believe in a future state and that the dead go to the west, where there is abundance of fat fish. Mr. Reid said of the Milya-uppa tribe at Torrowotto that they believe in the existence of God, and that after death they will be transformed into birds. Mr. Teulon said of the Bahkunjy tribe at Bourke on the Darling River, that they believe in one God, the ample-handed maker and preserver of all things, but have neither knowledge nor desire for knowledge of him,



nor does any man expect to see him. They believe also in an evil one, in a god of the winds and a god of thunder, and hold that the spirits of the departed walk the earth after dark. This tribe would seem to be in a position that Mr. Lang would consider one of degeneration. Mr. Heagney said of the Birria and other tribes at the Thomson and Barcoo rivers, that they believe in the existence of invisible beings, who can make them happy or miserable, who hover about the burial places of the dead and severely punish those who break the laws relating to food restrictions and to marriage, who are prayed to for rain, and sung to for vengeance on enemies. This tribe seems to introduce Mr. Lang's ethical element. Mr. Armstrong said of the Mungerra tribe at Cape River, that they have a great fear of a supernatural being, and also of the dead. Mr. MacGlashan said of the Koombokkaborra tribe, between Cape River and Belyando River, that they have a religious belief of some sort, and a strong dislike to hear the dead mentioned. Mr. Fuller, missionary, said of the aborigines of Fraser's Island, that they are firm believers in ghosts and in a devil, but have no idea of a God. Mr. Mathew said of the Kabi tribe on the Mary River that they have a vague belief in water spirits and an apprehension of ghosts, but know nothing of a supreme being, and perform no acts of invocation or propitiation. Mr. Bucknell agreed with the late Rev. Wm. Ridley, that the Kamilaroi on the Guyder River believe in the existence of an Almighty Creator and in spirits, and Mr. Ridley derived the name for God in the Wodi-wodi language from the word for "sky." Mr. Bulmer said that the Gippsland or Kurnai tribes, as far as can be ascertained, have no knowledge of God, and certainly no worship or religious belief of any kind; but he said that they practise sorcery, believe in magic, and devote victims to destruction with what he called "cabalistic" ceremonies, which were so much dreaded that, not unfrequently, men and women who learned that they had been made the sub-

jects of incantations quickly pine away and die of fright. The Creator of all that has life on earth they believe to have been a gigantic blackfellow, who lived in Gippsland many centuries ago, and dwells among the stars. Many of the stars are named after people long since dead. This tribe has also the tradition of a deluge.

A writer of no great authority, Mr. Augustus Oldfield, in the 3rd volume of the *Transactions of the Ethnological Society* (1864), said of the aborigines of Australia that the number of supernatural beings that they acknowledge is exceedingly great; every thicket, most watering places, and all rocky places abound with evil spirits. Heaven is the abiding place of two great divinities, one of whom has a son who performs many wonderful actions, but is spoken of with little reverence. The spirit of evil dwells in the nethermost regions and is the author of all the great calamities that befall mankind. He is represented as having long horns and a tail.

The general result of all these testimonies is that while the idea of a maker of things might well have been one of those present in the savage mind, and while the convenience of attaching an ethical value to religious belief might well have been an early discovery, there was no intimate connection between the two. The ethical value was equally attachable to the ghostly idea as to the idea of a maker, and equally or more convenient when so attached, for, as Mr. Lang says, the idea of a maker soon became associated with that of non-interference.

Mr. Lang's principal authority is Mr. Howitt, on whom he is justified in placing reliance; but Mr. Howitt himself does not appear to have attached all the importance to his statements that Mr. Lang derives from them, and Mr. Howitt's statements are associated with others relating to the belief in spirits, the practices of wizards, and other observances that have to be considered in connection with the beliefs to which Mr. Lang attaches the special character



of purity. There is no evidence that the one preceded the other. There is evidence that there were in the savage mind a number of ideas which crystallised into beliefs and observances of various kinds and of different religious and ethical significance.

All that can be said to have been established, therefore, is that, side by side with the impressions from ghosts and from dreams, there has been a vague and evanescent idea of a maker. Its ethical value has been no greater than that of the other beliefs, and is due indeed to the necessity of finding a sanction for enforcing upon the young those obligations which are to be imposed upon them in the interests of the community. The impression produced upon the savage mind by the awful fact of death is likely to be more intense than that produced by speculations how the world was made. Those produced upon the mind by dreams are constant in their recurrence. As the late Rev. J. G. Campbell wrote in his delightful book on the *Superstitions of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, "Dreams have everywhere been laid hold of by superstition as indications of what is passing at a distance or what is to come, and considering the vast number of dreams there are it would be matter of surprise if a sufficient number did not prove so like some remote or subsequent event interesting to the dreamer as to keep the belief alive." Messrs. Vaschide and Piéron have recently laid before the Society of Anthropology of Paris a study of the prophetic dream in the beliefs and traditions of savage peoples. They say that the dream is one of the first phenomena to surprise and astonish the savage or the primitive man. He believes in its objectivity. He thinks it something distinct from the sleeping body by which it is experienced. He assumes from it the existence of a separate spirit, that wanders away and enjoys a higher form of being, superior to hunger and to fatigue. He thinks the vision has a purpose, useful for his future guidance. He establishes a faith in the prophetic



value of dreams on this abstract reasoning. These ideas are the same among savages in all parts of the world. In Africa, dreams are supposed to convey messages from ancestors, in Madagascar from good spirits, and so forth. In religion, the prophetic dream is of constant occurrence. A king of the Malayan Archipelago saw the prophet of God in a dream, who told him that on the morrow a ship would arrive at his coast, and enjoined him to comply with the directions of the men who should land from it; and so it happened. The authors assert that the data furnished by ethnology as to the mental condition of people with regard to dreams, do not differ much from those furnished by infantile psychology as to the beliefs of children with regard to dreams, before they are brought under the influence of education. This observation appears to us to be very sound, and goes far to cover the whole ground of the question under consideration. If a child observes the mystery of death, if a child speculates on the origin of things, he arrives at much the same conclusions as uncivilised man arrives at in the same circumstances. The child forms for himself the same sort of fantastic theories, rejoices (as Mr. Frazer puts it) in the play of "make-believe," and even establishes a sort of ethic—you ought to do or to be so-and-so, and I ought to do or to be so-and-so. Professor Tylor puts the savage theory of dreams very clearly when he says, "When the sleeper awakes from a dream, he believes he has really somehow been away or that other people have come to him. As it is well known by experience that men's bodies do not go on these excursions, the natural explanation is that every man's living self or soul is its phantom or image, which can go out of his body and see and be itself seen in dreams." We shall look forward with interest to the promised work of Messrs. Vaschide and Piéron on the psychology of the dream in the psycho-social life of savages.

Meanwhile, do not these considerations largely dispose of

Mr. Lang's theory of degeneration? Here are savages who, like children, form theories of death, of dreams, and of creation. The infancy of human life corresponds with the infancy of civilisation. As human life goes on, and as civilisation goes on, the early childish theories are shed, and theories based upon more accurate observation of facts and sounder reasonings take their place. Is this degeneration? Surely not: it is evolution. Mr. Lang's ascription of a superior purity to the savage idea is the same as an ascription of superior purity to the ideas of a child. If the man throws them off, and adopts others less artless and more commending themselves to his reason, that is not degeneration. The religious systems of the Greeks and Romans were not less pure than those of the Australian savages. They were only more developed.

I am not concerned to assert, and therefore I do not assert, that this progress of which I speak is constant and regular, or, as Miss Kingsley has happily put it, "in a neat tidy line." As one of our Council says, it is rather like the tide, forwards and backwards; but as the result is on the whole forwards, there is no room for "the old degeneration theory":—

"For while the tired waves, vainly breaking,  
Seem here no painful inch to gain,  
Far back, through creeks and inlets making,  
Comes silent, flooding in, the main."

A. H. CLOUGH.

Turning from this subject, upon which I apologise for having detained you so long and in so controversial a manner, I ask leave to offer a few observations on some of the papers that have been read before the Society during the year. Mr. Thurn's excellent paper on the Games of the Red-men of Guiana, affords further examples of the charm which attaches to "make-believe." In one of the games the players imitate the forward rolling motion of a long and well-manned canoe; in another, the incidents of the



voyage are dramatically rendered ; in another, a jaguar hunt is enacted ; a fourth represents a troop of monkeys suddenly alarmed and angered ; while in a fifth the action of a jaguar trying to get an agouti out of a pen is simulated. Mr. Thomas's collection of animal superstitions from Asia Minor illustrates, among other things, the interpretation of the appearance of animals when seen in dreams. Mrs. Gomme's harvest doll from Berwickshire, which she has kindly presented to the Society, throws light on those superstitions connected with the last standing sheaf which have been investigated by Mr. Frazer. Mr. Lovett's researches into the ancient and modern game of astragals and Miss Turner's demonstration of the variant now played in Derbyshire show how the games of children are correlated with the more serious play and perhaps the attempts at divination of ancient races. Miss Sykes's collection of Persian folklore enforces the lesson she draws that Persians of all ranks are like children in their love of stories. Mr. Aston's important paper on the Japanese *Gohei*, and the Ainu *Inao*, which has been published in the Journal of the Anthropological Institute, tells a wonderful story of the manner in which religious ideas are modified by time. In the old nature-worship of Japan, pieces of cloth and raw material for the manufacture of clothing were offered to the gods, who were supposed to derive as much pleasure from such gifts as human beings would experience. At first these propitiatory offerings consisted of so many ounces of hemp or bark fibre or so many pieces of cloth ; but later they assumed a more specialised and conventional form, and were made with paper or cash. With the alteration of form came a change in the mental attitude of the worshipper. These offerings came to be looked upon, as they are now, as representatives of the deity. Instead of the worshipper bringing them to the shrine, they are now given out by the priest to the worshipper, who takes them home and sets them on his



god-shelf. Other objects have passed through the same changes from offering to emblem, and in this respect are comparable with ideas prevalent in other religions. Among the ruder and poorer Ainu population, who are supposed to be the aborigines, similar things are used made of willow wands in the like manner, but the evidence is conflicting whether the Ainu have arrived at the final stage of believing them to embody their god. An instance of the generalisation that in these matters the human mind works in the same way at the like stage of development is noted by Mr. Aston in the fact that the ceremony which Julius Cæsar asked Mark Antony to perform at the Lupercalia :

" Forget not in your speed, Antonius,  
To touch Calphurnia ; for our elders say  
The barren, touched in this holy chase,  
Shake off their sterile curse : "

*Act i. Sc. 2*

has been performed for the last thousand years in Japan with the same objects. Mr. Tregear's paper on the Spirit of Vegetation, also published in the Journal of the Anthropological Institute, describes the ceremonies formerly connected with the worship of that spirit among the Maoris of New Zealand, and shows that the same sentiments operate to produce corresponding methods of thought among a people to whom corn was unknown, as lie at the foundation of the harvest ceremonies investigated by Mr. Frazer. Mr. Elworthy's exhibition of numerous casts of the *Dischi Sacri* illustrated another group of religious ideas. The papers by Miss Godden, Miss Goodrich Freer, Dr. Rivers, Mr. Rose, and Mr. Seyler shed light upon other branches of our great and complicated subject ; and we have in many respects to thank all those who have taken part in the proceedings at our evening meetings for very considerable contributions to knowledge in folklore.

I must not omit to notice as one of the most important events of the year, Miss Owen's generous gift of her fine collection of Musquakie beadwork. We have not yet

received from her the detailed description which will enable us to illustrate it as it deserves, but I hope that in time we may be able to produce such a record of it as may rank worthily with Professor Starr's Catalogue of his Mexican collections.

The publication by the Society during the year of Dr. R. C. Maclagan's *Games and Diversions of Argyleshire* adds a great quantity of valuable material to the accumulation of facts upon which we base our generalisations, and affords an excellent model of the manner in which such work should be done.

Among the events of the year which most strongly affect the student of folklore, I count the death of Léon Marillier. From a touching notice in the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* (xliv., 167), by M. Jean Réville, who was his colleague in the direction of that review, it appears that on the 22nd August he was returning to Tréquier with his wife and her young sister in a vessel which suddenly capsized in sight of land. The ladies perished the same day. Marillier, who could not swim, was thrown by the current on the rocks in an exhausted condition, which resulted in an attack of congestion of the lungs and of pleurisy, from which he died in Paris on the 15th October, at the early age of 38. Though not a Protestant, he had commenced his public career as teacher in the faculty of Protestant theology at Paris, a circumstance which M. Réville rightly thinks to be honourable both to the largeness of mind of that faculty and to the perfect independence of thought of the young professor. In 1887-88 he lectured on psychology in its relations with religion; in 1888-89 on religious phenomena and their psychological basis; and in the following year on the religions of uncivilised peoples.

By his articles contributed to the *Revue* in question, his memoir on the survival of the soul and the idea of justice among uncivilised peoples in the *Report* of the École des Hautes Études for 1893-94, and his preface to the trans-



lation of our colleague Mr. Andrew Lang's *Myth, Ritual, and Religion* (which was honoured with a place in the *Index Expurgatorius*), he displayed wealth of knowledge, width of view, and sanity of judgment. For a detail of his labours in other fields reference may be made to M. Réville's article. His activity in favour of moral and social movements, for liberty of conscience, the protection of the rights of aborigines, peace, temperance, and popular education, is there referred to in terms of warm appreciation. The calamity of his early death put an end to many schemes he had formed for future work. He was buried at Tréquier by the side of his wife, who is described as a good and noble-minded woman.

My first act as President last year was to endeavour to interpret the sentiments of the members of the Folk-Lore Society on the occasion of the death of Queen Victoria, of which to-day is the anniversary. It is a curious example of the warp and woof of mixed emotions that form the web of human life, that the anniversary of the Queen's death is necessarily also the anniversary of the King's accession.

I must say a few words in conclusion as to some of the colleagues and friends who have been lost to us during the year. You have heard in the Report of the Council how valuable to the Society were the services which the late Miss Florence Grove rendered to it, though it was part of the unassuming modesty that marked her character that they attracted little notice. It was not alone in this respect that she devoted her life to good works. She was a true friend of the struggling and hard-working poor, and expended a very considerable portion of her income in the support of measures for elevating them and bettering their condition. Sir Walter Besant in many of his admirable works of fiction displayed an earnest purpose, and with regard to some of them was rewarded by seeing the realisation of his brilliant fancies; he was a devoted archæologist, and had the faculty of making topography



interesting. He was also untiring in his efforts to obtain just recognition for his fellow workers in the field of authorship. Mr. James Lewis André, also, was more specially devoted to archæology than to folklore in the stricter sense of the word. He was learned in that branch of it which concerns the mediæval legends of saints, and even in that respect his knowledge may have contributed to support the generalisations I have presumed to discuss. I recollect, years ago, having the pleasure of a correspondence with him on the legends of St. Paula and St. Wilgefort, two ladies who were favoured with a miraculous growth of beard upon a sudden emergency :—

“Crevit barba facie, quod obtinuisti  
A Christo pro munere, quod sibi voluisti;  
Te volentes nubere sibi confudisti.”

Would Mr Frazer class that as Magic or as Religion?

I trust that the places of these most worthy members may be filled by others, and that the Folk-Lore Society may flourish and prosper for many generations to come.

E. W. BRABROOK.

## MORE FOLKLORE FROM THE HEBRIDES.

BY A. GOODRICH-FREER.<sup>1</sup>

(Read at Meeting of 6th November, 1901.)

I BELIEVE that I may venture to claim that a good deal of the folklore contained in the following pages has never before been printed, and that even in the case of such traditions and beliefs as are so far widespread as to have been gathered together elsewhere, that, at all events, they are here given for the first time as collected in the islands of South Uist and Eriskay. In the very few cases in which I have presented examples already published by Mr. Carmichael in his *Carmina Gadelica*, it is because we have both borrowed from a common fount, the Rev. Allan Macdonald, who has long had access to sources of information entirely inaccessible to all others, and to whom I acknowledge the deepest obligation. As priest, and even more as friend, to a people whose hearts can never open fully but to one of their own faith and living in their midst, he has had, and has used to the full, opportunities that are in the most literal sense unique, and without him—his knowledge, sympathy, and erudition—the folklore, songs, hymns, customs, and tales of these islands could never have been collected.

### I.—DANGERS AND PRECAUTIONS.

Among the more remote islands of the Outer Hebrides one is constantly confronted with the phrase, "It is not right," literally, "It is not ordered." Thus, it is not right to mend clothes while upon the person. It is an interference with the rights of the dead, to whom alone belongs

<sup>1</sup> Copyright reserved by the Author.

the privilege of having the clothes stitched upon the body. If it should, however, be necessary, it is well to say (as usual, with the idea of *dodging* the Powers of Evil):<sup>1</sup>

"I am sewing about the grey stone yonder  
And about the carlin of the priest."

It is for good fortune, and not merely of good manners, that if you go to a house to ask for anything, you should begin with a little general conversation. If you fail to do this, those around should say:

"Ask it of the ravens,  
And of the hoodie-crows,  
And of the ridge-beam of your father's house."

In the same way, and possibly also with the idea of diverting the attention of the Powers of Evil, if anyone should relate, as news, that a neighbour has lost a cow or a horse, those sitting by should say:

"Pluck the hair out,  
Put it into the fire,  
And may all be well where this is told."

If a person makes a very brief call, it is usual to say, "Did you come for fire?" which is sarcastic, and equivalent to, "I suppose you want something."

It is not right for a woman to comb her hair at night: every hair may become entangled in the feet of a friend who is sailing in a ship. Nor is it right to count the teeth of a comb—that means you are numbering the years of your life; nor to throw a comb to anyone. There is a saying, "Do not throw a comb but at an enemy."

It is not right for a person to cut his own hair. There is a saying about "raising scissors above one's breath"—possibly some allusion to cutting the breath of life.

It is not right to put a sieve on the head, as it stunts the growth. Short people are often taunted with having done

<sup>1</sup> See "The Powers of Evil in the Outer Hebrides," *Folk-Lore*, x., 265.



this. If a person were to go out at night with a sieve in his hand, he would require to have a piece of coal in the other hand, to prevent his being carried away by the dead.<sup>1</sup>

It is not right to use the stem of docken, the most natural switch in these treeless islands, to drive either horses or cows. Children are much impressed with horror of docken. A mother said that if she threatened to beat her children with it "they would fly through the seven worlds."

It is not right to touch a wound with finger or thumb. They are venomous—one would say, sometimes, for obvious reasons!—but the reason given is that with them Adam took the forbidden fruit.

It is not right for a child to walk backwards, it is shortening his mother's life.

It is not good to sleep on the back, as the heart and lungs and liver may adhere to the back.

It is not right to press a person to stay late, if contrary to his inclination. The theory is, that he may have what the Society for Psychical Research would call "a subliminal monition," which others ought not to oppose.

It is not good to recall a person starting on a journey. If it is really necessary, it is always done with the formula, "It is not calling after you I am." And if the person starting finds he has forgotten something, he must remain a little while when he goes back to the house, before seeking it. I have observed both of these customs many times, the latter at some inconvenience. Fortunately there are no trains or even omnibuses to catch in these islands.

The reeds which grow so abundantly in all the lakes (and

<sup>1</sup> Meeting the *Sluath*, the procession of the wandering dead, is a very common experience in the islands. It is said to be not unfrequent for persons to return home at night bruised and soiled by the crowd which has passed over them on its way to the churchyard.

the islands are more water than land), must not be used for thatching the houses, though apparently very suitable for the purpose, and freely used for making mats and baskets, horse-collars, and even chairs; but if put on the roof of house or byre, death will certainly follow. Father Allan Macdonald notes on October 16th, 1896, that he was consulted as to the danger of thatching a house with reeds, and if it were really running any risk for man or beast. It was alleged that reeds had been cursed ever since one was used at the Crucifixion of our Lord.

Branches of yew are kept in the house as a preservative against fire—it may be a survival of keeping the Palm Sunday boughs. (In Spain they are placed in balconies against lightning.)

If a child loses a tooth, it should be hidden in the earth that forms the padding of the loose walls, or he will not get another.

If a child's first tooth comes in the upper jaw he will be a bard. Others say, if he is born with a tooth he will be a bard.

It is not right to take fire out of a house where there is a child who has not got a tooth yet, otherwise it will get no teeth at all. When a child's first tooth is coming through, something that has life should be apportioned to him, a calf, or a lamb, or a cock.

It is not right to whistle on board a boat, it may call up the wind. The same informant, who is very definite on this score, says also that "no islander would put a knife into the mast for wind, though he would get Uist." One cannot wonder at the islanders showing fear of any methods of raising the wind, they have too many wild winds in their storm-beaten islands.

"A whistling woman and a crowing hen" are as little tolerated in the Hebrides as elsewhere. The cure for the hen is, to cut off part of the tail.



On seeing the new moon it is right to cross yourself and say :

“ He that created you created me  
White be thy light to us,  
If it be well at thy beginning  
May it be sevenfold better at thy end.”

Here, as elsewhere, it is a good thing, and a sign you will not want, to have something in the hand when you see the new moon.

If two or more marriages take place at the same time, each couple will try to be first for luck. A bride must wear something borrowed for luck. The young wife used to go round the township collecting wool, which was freely given by her neighbours.

It is not right to return the leavings of the meal to the chest after baking.

It is not right for a woman to fan a fire with the skirt of her dress, for when the nails were being prepared for Our Lord's Crucifixion, the smith's daughter roused the fire of the smithy in that way.

When the ashes rise and whirl in little eddies, it is a sign of a storm.

When you have singing in the ears, you should pray for the dead ; it is a sign that someone is dying at the time. Others say :

“ May all be well for us and for our friends,  
If it was you that heard, may it not be you that will weep.”

To prevent ill consequences from the prick of a needle it should be thrust three times into the earth.

## II.—ANIMAL LORE.

The sort of story which, in *Æsop's Fables*, is attributed to the fox, is in the Outer Hebrides, where foxes are unknown, related of the cat.

Two old cats went down to the shore one day, and found a large lump of butter. After much quarrelling as to ownership, it was agreed that the oldest should have it.



"I am the oldest," said the one who had made the suggestion, "I am the cat that Adam had." The other said, "You are undoubtedly elderly, but not so old as I, for I was on the earth before the hempen feet (*i.e.* the rays) went under the sun. Hand over the butter." He ate so much that he began to swell, and became so heavy that he could not run, and so when a hungry wolf came down to the shore he fell a victim. "It is not good to be telling lies," as the cat said when the wolf ate him.

When Lazarus died, nasty creatures (rats and mice) threatened to devour the body. Our Lord came, and baring the breast of His friend, breathed upon the hair, and there appeared a little cat, which is why a cat likes to sit upon a person's chest.

The first milk of a cow after calving should be drunk by a dog. The cat must certainly not have it first, for the dog has ordered the cow to have milk in four teats, but the cat ordered only three.

The cat does not flourish in damp or draught, and is consequently a very degenerate animal in the Outer Isles, but that it does sometimes reach a mature age is shown by the saying that "his first seven years are passed joyously and pleasantly in the sun, but his last seven years are passed heavy-headed, large-headed, sleepy, by the fire." The cat's more ordinary length of life is denoted in the saying, "Three ages of a cat to the age of a dog, three ages of a dog to the age of a man, three ages of a man to the age of a deer, three ages of a deer to the age of an oak-tree," though what the people in the Hebrides know about oak-trees it would be hard to say.

If a cat goes into a pot, it is a presage of fish coming to the house. If a cat scratches on the ground it is a sign of death, for it is looking for a corpse.

A dog howling by day without sufficient cause is said to be observing a phantom funeral, a warning of a real one to follow.

The last words of the sheep when he left Paradise, where the beasts had the gift of speech, were, "Do not burn my bones." Since then it has not been considered right to throw any sheep-bones on the fire.<sup>1</sup>

Where there are nine otters, there is the *dobhar chu*, the male otter. There is a spot under his breast, and he can only be killed by wounding this. The rest of his body is protected by enchantment. The smoke of him will fell a man sixty yards away.

If the field-mouse (in Gaelic called the grass-mouse) passes in front of a cow or horse, it betokens ill-luck to the creature.

Formerly, if people wished to have she-calves, they buried the matrix at a boundary-stream.

The bee, the corn-crake, and the stone-chat and the cuckoo, are all enchanted creatures—possibly because they disappear in winter, unlike most of the sea-birds, more familiar to the islanders.

A wren is lucky about a house. There is a Gaelic saying, "No house ever dies out that the wren frequents."

When eggs are set, an odd number should always be placed under the hen, for one will not hatch, it goes into the tithe (*deachanch*.) The wren never pays tithes, and all her twelve eggs are hatched, but she pays more than the full penalty, for only one will survive, and, moreover, she always has an ooze in her nest.

The crow cannot be put to shame. The lapwing, who, as everybody knows, has a trick of repeating himself, said to the grey crow, "I never saw your like for stealing eggs, for stealing eggs." The crow, rubbing his beak on the grass, replied, "Nor did we ourselves, though it is we who are older."

Knowledge of the whereabouts of the lost, if dead, is called "raven's knowledge." When Cuchullin was dying the host of his enemies dispatched a crow (*fiannag*) to see

<sup>1</sup> [Cl. Folk-Lore, x., 262.—ED.]



if he were dead. His dying attitude was so life-like, propped up with spears, that the raven, returning, could only say :

" The eye looks askance,  
And the mouth is awry."

Everyone knows how intent the lapwing is upon misleading you as to the whereabouts of its nest. The words of its shrill cry are " Little Murdoch, don't harry my nest " (*Mhurchadh bheg, na creach mo nid*).

The crested lark is held sacred and is called endearingly "*uisiag Moire*," lark of Mary.

The hedge-sparrow (*glaissean*) is blessed, though not lucky. Often before the death of a child two or three will come about the door every day for a fortnight.

The seal, like the swan, is the bewitched child of a king, and its hand-like paws are all that remain of its human state.

It is dangerous to eat the head of an eel, for eels are subject to madness and liable to communicate the disease. Our informant was asked if he knew of any definite case of such infection, and he instanced a friend of his own who was saved only by being caused to vomit just when his head was beginning to go wrong. He told us also the story of a man who killed a trout and an eel; he gave his wife the trout and ate the eel himself. He shortly became insane, but not before he had warned his wife to fly to her brother's house for safety. The brother went next day to visit his afflicted relative, and found that he had killed his horse and was eating the raw flesh, so, to prevent further mischief, he shot him. It was considered best for himself to leave the country, and he went to Ben Mohr in South Uist, where his descendants still live; one of whom—our informant—is still known as Mac Ian, Mac Ian, Mac Donald of the Horse (the son of Ian, the son of Ian, the son of Donald).

A man, fond of fishing, was asked what he had taken. " Devil a fin," said he, though his creel was full of trout.



That was how the devil came to remove the side-fins from the trout.

The herring is the king of fishes, but the fish from which St. Peter got the tribute money was the haddock.<sup>1</sup>

St. Columkille is very much mixed up with beast stories. There is a story of how the flounder got a crooked mouth, which belongs to the folklore of many countries, but is here associated with the saint, who was one day wading through one of the sandy fords common in the islands, when the flounder, who was resting on a stone, mocked him, and had a crooked mouth for ever after.

It is not right to remove any fish found dead upon the shore of loch or sea. Three Eriskay men were landing in a boat a little below the chapel-house, when they saw a dead salmon and some large trout on the shore. All made a rush for it; but the one that got it was thereafter sorry, for a near relative soon died.

It is not right to put a whelk to roast on the fire, it will produce seven years of famine.

There is a little univalve shell the people call *fuoitrag*, which it is lucky to carry in the pocket, and three of them will save one from being lost in a mist.

We heard of a little black-beetle that strikes a smart ticking blow. Children call him "the little smith," and they call "Little Smith, little Smith, strike the hammer," and then they listen for the little blow.

The bare-footed children are expected to wash their feet in the burn before coming indoors to bed. If they omit this duty they are threatened with the centipede, which is called "Martin of the knives," or "the lad of the knives," sometimes "the red fox," from his colour.

The children apparently understand the habits of the

<sup>1</sup> [Off the American coast there is a fish called the King-fish; a kind of herring, clad in glistening silver scales, a most beautiful object, six feet long. It is not good for food, however.—E. S. H.]

aphis, for putting one on the back of the hand they cry, in Gaelic rhyme :

" Carlin of the whey,  
Whey-pail, whey-pail,  
Give me of your whey  
Or I will take head and feet off you,"

and the creature leaves a drop of liquid on the hand.

The natives dread a caterpillar, said to be fatal to cows, and which they call "The clothed one," from its handsome appearance.

### III.—THE WEATHER AND THE CHURCH SEASONS.

In a land where there are few artificial methods of noting the progress of the year, where clocks,<sup>1</sup> almanacs, and newspapers are, in certain districts, practically unknown, the landmarks of time are, naturally enough, the weather and the Church seasons. The following are among the sayings most frequently heard.

"A short short month between St. Andrew's (November 30th) and Christmas." "Autumn lasts till Christmas, and Winter to St. Patrick's." "Christmas to-day, May-day to-morrow," *i.e.* if Christmas fall on a Monday, May-day will fall on a Tuesday.

"The calf-killer of Patrick feast," is the name given to the cold east wind, which prevails so often in the early

<sup>1</sup> When, as is not infrequent, fog and mist obscure the light, the cock, the usual time-keeper, is often much disconcerted and put out in his calculations, sometimes with curious and inconvenient results, such as the arrival of the congregation for mass at twelve instead of nine, or of failure to put out to meet some passing steamer prepared to drop passenger or cargo into a small boat in open sea. There are, however, certain of the initiated who, given a sufficiency of daylight, are wonderfully successful by the following method, which we saw practised by a fisherman. Take the sea horizon as a base, gaze fixedly at it, and place the closed fist perpendicularly on the base, then the other fist upon that, and so on alternately until a fist comes between you and the sun. The number of times you have placed the fist is the number of hours to sunset.



spring. As the year goes on, and the temperature of the water becomes less chill, there is a saying :

“ Brigid put a foot in it,  
Mary put a hand in it,  
Patrick put a stone in it.”

St. Brigid's Day is on February 1st, Candlemas (February 2nd) is more temperate, and St. Patrick's Day, March 17th, takes away all the venom. St. Patrick's stone is probably a hail-stone.

The hail-stone is also called “ stone of Mary.” This association with the Blessed Virgin has always an endearing quality: the lark is called “ the bird of Mary;” a Molucca bean, valued as a charm, the “ nut of Mary;” the sea, upon whose gifts all depend more or less, is the treasury of Mary, and so on; from which one concludes that the appearance of hail has in it something not wholly unwelcome.

There is a rhyme said about the time of St. Patrick's feast-day which is sometimes quoted as a charm against serpents :

“ Patrick's feast-day—half of spring,  
Ivar's daughter will come out of the hole.  
I will not ‘ be at ’ (hurt) Ivar's daughter,  
No more will she ‘ be at ’ me.”

However, as there are no serpents in the islands, an explanation suggested by Father Allan strikes one as far more probable. As is well known, the common nettle always tends to spring up around the places occupied, or which have been occupied, by man, and however carefully extirpated it is one of the most common of the many weeds which grow in the crevices of the houses and byres both indoors and out, and the appearance of its first tender leaves is hailed as one of the first signs of spring. What the phrase “ Ivar's daughter ” may mean it is interesting to inquire, but the hint that she does no harm if let alone might well point to the conduct of the common nettle.

One of the feasts most regarded, especially in earlier



times, is that of the Annunciation, as to which there is a saying:

" Mary's feast-day of Patrick's feast,<sup>1</sup>  
The noblest day that will come,  
The noblest that has gone."

The direction of the wind on New Year's Day presages the prosperity or failure of fish and crops for the whole year, as that will be the prevalent wind for the year.

There is a month in mid-winter known as the "dead" month, probably from the arrest of all growth. It is believed that no indigo dye should be used at this time, as the cloth would not take the colour properly.

The last fortnight of January and the first of February compose the month known as *Gobag*, the beaked or venomous one. Two proverbs apply to this: "Gobag, the beaked one, mother of the cold (*Faoilleach*), that will kill the sheep and the lambs." "Better the foray came to the land than a smooth morning in the cold *Faoilleach* (that is a frost)."

On Easter Sunday, the sun dances with joy three times to testify to the glory of the Resurrection, and hundreds go up every year to the hill-tops before sunrise to witness the phenomenon. An intelligent tacksman declared solemnly that he had seen this when sailing in his schooner near the Isle of Man.

Pace eggs are used in Uist on Palm Sunday, not at Easter.

May-day is spoken of as the Yellow (or golden) Beltane, and is hailed with joy. It is said that on this day "The cuckoo comes from her winter home," later, it will be observed, than the "April," when "come he will," of more genial climates. However, the cuckoo is a bird of very short and of merely occasional passage in the treeless Hebrides, and indeed in some islands is practically unknown. On St. Peter's Day (June 29th), the cuckoo will go to her winter home, is another saying which shows that only a short visit is, at best, expected.

Agricultural operations done about Beltane (*bhealltuinn*)

<sup>1</sup> It is a week later than St. Patrick's.

are especially lucky. The period extends over the first sixteen days of May.

The Beltane bannock is smaller than that made at St. Michael's (see *infra*, p. 44), but is made in the same way; it is no longer made in Uist, but Father Allan remembers seeing his grandmother make one about twenty-five years ago. There was also a cheese made, generally on the 1st of May, which was kept to the next Beltane as a sort of charm against the bewitching of milk-produce. The Beltane customs seem to have been the same as elsewhere. Every fire was put out and a large one lit on the top of the hill, and the cattle driven round it sunwards (*dessil*), to keep off murrain all the year. Each man would take home fire wherewith to kindle his own.

For some reason, not obvious, an old saying invites us to "Pity her who is the mother of silly children, when Beltane is on a Thursday."<sup>1</sup> In the same way, and with equal mystery, "When All Saints' Day is on a Wednesday there is lamentation among the children of men."

On All Souls' Day it is believed that "Holy Souls stretch out their hands for alms;" and it is a pious custom, universally practised to this day, for the people to give alms to their poorer neighbours.

"She who combs her curling tresses  
On the night of Sunday-Monday  
Did not on earth as much good  
As would get mercy for her soul."

"What is done on Monday will be quickly or slowly undone" (hence an unlucky day to begin anything).

"It is on Monday the world will end."

<sup>1</sup> [This saying possibly contains a reference to human sacrifices at Beltane, when the "silly" children would naturally be the first to be chosen as victims. For human sacrifice among the Celts, see the *Voyage of Bran*, vol. ii., and cf. the descriptions of Beltane ceremonies in the *Statistical Account of Scotland*. It is possible, though there is absolutely no evidence of it, that Thursday was sacred to the Thunderer among the Celts, as well as among the Teutons, and that a Thursday Beltane would therefore be a day of special solemnity.—A. NUTT.]



It is not right to kill a sheep on a Friday.

" Flit on Saturday northward,  
Flit on Sunday southward,  
If I had only a lamb  
It would be on Monday I would go away with it."

The saying "Bright Sunday, rough Monday," is more or less equivalent to our "Sunday rules Tuesday." We have also an equivalent to the theory "Mackerel speckles on the sky, and a good day to-morrow."

It is well known that the rain of the Flood came slanting down from the S.W., as is easily seen by the fact that all the mountains and hills in the Western Isles are bare on their south-west faces.

A saying in Uist with regard to the harvest is, "The year of the *coilchean* (short-grown straw) never brought famine to Uist." *Coilchean* is straw stunted by drought, and would imply a dry season.

Owing to the indifference of certain proprietors, there is an immense waste of human life and energy spent in herding sheep and cattle, for want of fences. In former times the cattle grazed on the hills and the low-lying ground was all arable, but now the hill-grazing has been taken away from the poor, and in the islands of South Uist, Benbecula, and Barra, all on the Gordon estate, there is no provision for keeping the cattle from encroaching upon the poor little crofts or cultivated ground, the more tempting to the wretched half-starved creatures, that owing to lack of drainage such grass as they can reach is sour and without nourishing qualities. The following rhymes are common among the herd-boys, who pass so many hours in charge of sheep, cows, and horses on the treeless, wind-swept marshes, and to whom rain is a melancholy aggravation of their tedium and discomfort.

" Rainbow ! Rainbow  
Go away, go away,  
Yonder is your mother on the  
gibbet,  
She will be hanged before you  
reach.

" Shower bow ! Shower bow !  
Go away home,  
And strike three strokes  
With the tawse  
On thy person,  
And the rain will go away."



The following are variants, the first as used in South Uist, the second in Benbecula :

" Poor herd-boys  
In the shelter of knowes,  
A dog at their knees,  
And a staff at their breast,  
And a pin on their chest,<sup>1</sup>  
Asking God  
To put sun and drying in it."

In Benbecula they say :

" Shower-bow ! Shower-bow !  
Passing shower ! passing shower !  
Many a poor herd-boy  
Out at the shelter of a knowe  
Asking the great God  
To put the great rain away."

The Will o' the Wisp (called in Gaelic *Teine biorach* = sharp fire) is said to be of quite modern appearance, at least in South Uist. It was first seen, it is said, in 1812, and is the haunting spirit of a young girl from Benbecula, who frequented the *machair*, or sandy plain beside the sea, in search of the *galium verum*, used in the dyeing of the local cloth or tweed. Her sin was that of seeking to get an undue share of a product which should have been equally divided for the common good, and which has at all times to be husbanded as one of the plants which bind the sandy soil together where it has been redeemed from the sea. There is, however, another story as to the origin of the Jack o' lantern. The haunting spirit is that of a blacksmith, who could get no admittance even into hell. He was very cold, and begged for a single ember to warm himself, and at last one was given him, and he has gone shivering about with it ever since.<sup>2</sup>

A special interest of this story is that it tells against the common Hebridean tradition of a *cold* hell, a tradition one

*i.e.*, drawing their cloak or plaid together as a defence against the weather.

<sup>2</sup> [See *Shropshire Folklore*, p. 34.]

soon learns to accept in South Uist, the land of cold mist and sweeping winds, and damp, and draughts, and rain, where even the nether regions with a fire in them have a suggestion of comfort. Hell is therefore discouragingly known as "the place of the wind of the cold passages, or the wind of the cold channels."

The Aurora Borealis is called in Gaelic the *Firchlis-neach* or "the darting ones;" and when the lights are seen flashing about the sky they are fighting among themselves, and their blood is found upon the rocks in the form of a lichen known as "the blood of the darting ones." Their history is, that when the angels were falling out of heaven, Saint Michael noticed that heaven would soon be emptied of its inhabitants, and God ordered that the contest should cease, and everything remain as it was at the moment; so those that fell on the earth or on the rocks or into the pit remained there, and those that were falling from the sky stayed where they were. Those that fell among the rocks we hear sometimes as Echo (called in Gaelic *the Son of the fall of the Rocks*), and those who fell upon the earth are the Fairies.

St. Michael is believed to have saved many of the angelic host from joining in the rebellion of Lucifer and the punishment that followed, by throwing holy water over them as they were hastening after him. All who were touched were unable to move, and so stayed where they were and were saved. The epithet *mín*, gentle, is applied to St. Michael, and he is the saint most invoked in South Uist after Our Lady. A bannock specially prepared for his festival, "the size of a quern" in circumference, is called the St. Michael's Cake, *Strùthan na h'eill Micheil*. It is kneaded simply with water, and marked across like a scone, dividing it into four equal parts, and then placed in front of the fire resting on a quern. It is not polished with dry meal as is usual in making a cake, but when it is cooked a thin coating of eggs (four in number), mixed with buttermilk, is



spread first on one side, then on the other, and it is put before the fire again. An earlier shape, still in use, which tradition associates with the female sex, is that of a triangle with the corners cut off. A *strùthan* or *strùdhan* (the word seems to be used for no other kind of cake) is made for each member of the household, including servants and herds. When harvest is late, an early patch of corn is mown on purpose for the *strùthan*. St. Michael's Day is so far a festival that it is almost as important to have a bottle of whisky in the house then, as it is at a wedding or a fulling, and even yet, so I am told by a priest, the people ask if it is not a holiday of obligation.

On this day wild carrots are presented by the girls in a house to male visitors. An old woman named Campbell describes how "All the week before St. Michael's Day we gathered wild carrots, and each of us hid our store on the *machair*. On St. Michael's Day we took them up, and we girls had a great day cooking and eating them and dancing and singing. The boys had their own fun. They used to try to find and to steal our carrots. We had always to give some to the first person we met after pulling them up, and also to the first person we met coming into the house when we got home."

Hogmany Night has naturally its especial customs. The children go round to the houses on New Year's Eve to ask their Hogmany. It appears from the fourth line of their rhyme as if the custom obtained formerly on *Christmas* Eve, as among the Spaniards, who keep then their *Noche Buena*.

"I to-night am going a Hogmany,  
Going to renew the shout of the Kalends,  
To tell the women of the township  
That to-morrow is the Day of Christmas.  
I need not be telling it,  
It was in existence in the time of my grandfather,  
Climbing at the lintel over the door  
And descending at the door,  
Giving my *duan* (rhyme) orderly,  
Courteously, knowingly, as I knew how to."



"There will be a 'Caisean'  
 Of the Calands in my pocket.  
 Good is the smoke that will come from it.  
 I will give to the man of the house in his fist,  
 And he will thrust its nose into the fire.  
 He will put it 'sunwards' over the children,  
 And especially over the woman-of-the-house.  
 The woman-of-the-house well deserves that—  
 The hand that provides the Caland-cakes."

It used to be the custom for one of the merry-makers to have a dried hide on his back, and for the rest to smite the hide with their shinties, saying:

"Since there is a drought in the country  
 We will hope for a dram.  
 A little thing of the gift of summer [butter],  
 I expect along with the bread.  
 If you have got it at all [lit. 'of the world'],  
 If you may give, do not keep delay upon us;  
 I am in the open door, so let me in."

If they considered themselves well treated, they would pronounce the following blessing upon leaving the house:

"If it be well to-night,  
 May it be sevenfold better a year from to-night;  
 May God bless the house and all in it,  
 Between man and wife and children,  
 Much food and plenty of clothing,  
 And the wealth of men be in it."

The following is recited on Hogmany night:

"Three men to-night  
 As on Easter night.  
 [The next line is unintelligible, probably half forgotten]  
 To-night is the night of the hard hangman,  
 The hard cruel tree to which Christ was hung;  
 Christ, the Clerk above us,  
 [Another obscure line follows.]  
 High is the cake, and high the poor,  
 And high is He of to-night's night.  
 Brigid went upon her knee,  
 The King of the elements sat on her breast."

The New Year's Candle (*Caisean Cullaig*) was made of a sheep's tail, wrapped in a rag, and steeped in grease.

## IV.—DIVINATION.

The taking of the *Frith* or horoscope is still practised. It is practically the observation and interpretation by certain recognised rules of such natural objects as are accidentally present. It is especially in favour in relation to the fate of absent friends. Where postal service is still unfrequent and uncertain, and till lately was almost unknown, and where for long there was practically no written language, one the more easily makes allowance for empirical methods such as these, and many striking stories of coincidence are told in various districts.

The first Monday in every quarter was said to be the right time for casting *friths*; but an old woman named Catriona MacEachan, who died lately, and had special skill in this direction, made them at all times. The following account of the methods employed was given by another very old woman, who also had had long practice :—

"To make a frith, you look forth towards the sea, or over the country, to see omens or signs of good or ill luck to men, women, or cattle. Looking forth on to the sea is not so easy as the others. First, in the morning, you say a prayer and a Hail Mary. The *Frith* is holy, and was practised by Our Lady and St. Joseph when looking for the Holy Child when lost for three days. The person proceeds with closed eyes till he reaches the door-step. Then he opens them, and if he sees a sacred symbol, if only two straws crossing each other, all will be well. When he gets outside he walks round the house, *dessil* [sunwards] looking straight in front of him through the loosely-closed hand, as Mary looked through the hand of Brigid. As he goes along he says:

'God be before me,  
Mary after me,  
And the Son whom she bore, the King of the Elements,  
And whom Brigid placed in her hand.  
May I be upon Thy side, O God,  
And may God be on my track,



May the Son of Mary, who is the King of the Elements,  
Enlighten each thing of this,  
With His grace before me.<sup>1</sup>

"It is not always what you would like to see that you will see," continued our informant. "A man coming towards you, or a cock or a foal looking towards you, would be good, but if one were to see a beast lying down he might go and get the funeral feast ready. I have seen it happen so always. If while you are making the frith, you should see a woman, you should bless yourself at once, it is always bad, and will mean death or something equally bad. There is a little bird, too, which is not lucky, but it is blessed, the *glaissean*,<sup>2</sup> and another bird with a white collar about the size of a lapwing that will call two or three times about the end of the house. It is at the evening twilight that he will come, and I never saw him coming that death was not after him."

Many other things she told us, and putting them into some sort of sequence we were able to classify them after the following fashion.

All women are not equally unlucky; one passing or returning is not so bad, it is standing that she is fatal. One with red hair is worst,<sup>3</sup> but black hair is fairly lucky, and dun-

<sup>1</sup> The following variant is used in Benbecula :

"I going forth  
On thy path, O God.  
God before me !  
God after me !  
And God in my step !  
The charm that Mary made for her Son.  
Brigid breathed strongly through her palm.  
Knowledge of truth [= true knowledge]  
Without knowledge of falsehood [not false knowledge]  
As she obtained ;  
May I see the semblance  
Of the thing that I myself am seeking."

<sup>2</sup> Said by some to be the hedge-sparrow (see *supra*, p. 36).

<sup>3</sup> This unfortunate being is also disastrous to fish. One is inclined to speculate as to the possibility of the connection between this augury and the Highland antipathy to the sandy Scot.



coloured is the best. A man or beast standing are (in relation to a sick person) a sign of recovery; lying down, of continued illness. A bird on the wing is a good sign if coming towards you. A skylark, ptarmigan, dove, or widgeon is always good; a crow, raven, or stone-chat bad. A ptarmigan seen by a sailor means safety from drowning. A cat is bad except for a MacIntosh, a Macpherson, or any other of the clan Chattan (whose cognisance it is). A calf and lamb are good, and if facing you very good. "A pig is a sign of a Campbell coming, which is never good except for a Campbell." A horse signifies land, and is lucky; dun horse is best, and signifies a farmer; a grey horse means the sea, and foretells a sailor; a red horse, the grave, *i.e.* death; a black horse, sadness; and a yellow horse, a Mackenzie.

There is a fragment of an old *raum* or song in South Uist.

"I rose early in the morning, yesterday,  
I plucked yarrow for the horoscope for thy tale,  
In the hope that I might see the desire of my heart.  
[literally, *the secret of my creel*].  
Ochone ! there was seen *her back towards me*."

This, it is said, refers to the story of a certain bard whose fate deserves to be related as a warning to those tempted to extravagance in this direction. He fell in love with a girl in Stornoway who married another, and by means of the *frith* he was constantly calling up her image. Every Wednesday he composed a song to her, till he pined away and became so small that his father used to carry him in a creel on his back. It was whispered that the one he conjured up was the devil.

There is a special gift which exists in certain families which may perhaps be described as a capacity for casting the *frith* by spontaneous rather than empirical methods. The following are among the signs by which they are able to presage the common events of life for themselves and others. We have personally met with several instances—in

some cases, of intelligent and pious persons—all of whom could relate a great number of coincidences. The left ear hot betokens praise. The right ear hot betokens blame. Itching in the right sole, going to a strange place. Itching in the left sole, going to a dance. Itching in right palm, blessing from a stranger. Itching in left palm, going to get money. Itching under eye, going to weep. Itching upper lip, going to get a dram. Itching under lip, going to get a kiss. Itching in right elbow, going to sleep with a stranger.<sup>1</sup> Itching in nostril, going to be angry. Eye winking much is a presage of joy. White spot on nail, going to get something new. Black spot on tooth, a lie. Moth or butterfly, a letter coming. Shoe-tie loose, someone remembering you. A fly in one's mouth, going to get fresh fish. Moth on the sleeve, going to have new clothes. Spider on clothes, going to have new clothes. Three sneezes portend a letter coming. A single hair on a woman's face is luck. Food accidentally choking you shows it is grudged.

Divination by the shoulder blade of a sheep is a very old method, and seems to be practised in all parts of the world, notably among the Afghans. As practised in the Hebrides it seems to be analogous to crystal-gazing, and the bone serves for what the French psychologists call a *point de repère*, that is, a focus for concentration of gaze. One tribe in the islands was specially notable for the *slinnean-achd*. Angus Macdonald Mohr, who died at South Lochboisdale about 1885, and Murdoch, who died in Eriskay in 1888, were of the family, and descended from a common ancestor, said to have been born by the Cæsarean operation after his mother's death.

Some men were cutting peats, and their employer provided an abundant feast, including plenty of mutton. Taking up the shoulder bone, he asked one of the party to make a *fiosachd*. The first invited said he could not, that

<sup>1</sup> This is a not improbable circumstance in a country where beds are few, and the stranger, seeking hospitality, has to share or go without.



he had not the gift, whereupon the host invited a second guest, adjuring him by the Evil One. "Hand me the shoulder blade," said Thomas, son of Duncan. "There then, you devil, take it," said the host; whereupon he received the bone and uttered the oracle. "You have got my wether boiled for the peat-workers, you thief," said he, "and the rest of it that you did not boil is in your grain-kiln; and this turn would have gone well with thee, like more of the kind, if you had not conjured me by the devil."

Divination by dreams is of course common in the Hebrides as elsewhere, and a certain amount of importance is attached to them, but less than to waking visions, whether spontaneous or empirical.

A dream seen on the night of Sunday means nothing unless realised before mid-day on Monday.

A priest seen in a dream is, in Eriskay, the sign of a storm; in Uist, of sin.

To dream of a bull is a sign that a person is to get assistance from a proprietor or a landlord. It is to be hoped that under the influence of the Congested Districts Board the islanders may often dream about bulls.

To dream of water streaming down the inside wall of a house, or of a person dressed in grey, or of yourself on a fresh-water lake, or of a wedding-feast, or of a girl-baby, or being under an upturned boat, or the cock crowing when it is dark, are signs of death. Seeing the sea near you is a sign of weeping. Losing the heel off a boot, or losing a tooth, or seeing a girl-baby, are signs of losing support; while seeing new boots, or a boy-baby, are signs of support coming. Laughter is a sign of sorrow; a funeral, of a wedding; a red dress, of anger; a sheep, of something holy; a flock of sheep, of angels about one. A fish, a seal, or a priest, is a warning of bad weather; sea-water means strength—a good sign; fresh water, illness—a bad sign; eggs or chickens, of irritating small talk; iron means strength; silver, sin, (possibly associated with Judas): fire,



a hasty message; being barefoot, losing one's nearest friend; boat on shore, a coffin; new house, a grave; a hole in the house, death coming to it; people dressed in blue, of good luck coming; in grey, of bad luck, sickness, or going to sea.

If a person in a dream sees himself losing a tooth, it is a sign of the death of a near friend. Our informant had had such a dream three times, and she mentioned the names of those who died thereafter. Her sister has had a similar experience.<sup>1</sup>

There is among the Islanders a good deal of what one may call "domestic" divination, apart from the professional seers, who divine by the shoulder-blade of the sheep, or by the making of horoscopes, just as there are charms in constant use against the Evil Eye, quite apart from the professional making of spells or *snaitheans*.

The following saying sums up various signs of ill-omen:

"I saw a snail on ground full of holes,  
I saw a stone-chat on a bare rock,  
I saw a foal with his back to me,  
I heard the cuckoo ere I broke my fast,  
I knew the year would not go well with me,  
I lost the wife of the house, and the children."

There is some part of the sheep called the *duilleag*, which I think must be that used in the south for the decoration of carcases, especially lamb. When a sheep is killed, this is thrown up to the roof of the barn or shed for luck. If it stick up, it is good luck, but the reverse is merely negative, not positive bad luck. Each person present throws it up till it does stick up, and the last, the successful ones will be the "man of many sheep," and wealthy. If it happens the first time it is very lucky.

<sup>1</sup> [Many of these interpretations may be found in the printed "Fortune-Tellers" and "Dream Books," circulated among maidservants in all parts of the country. A fire means "hasty news," and the loss of a tooth "the loss of a friend," among most observers of dreams. Much the same remarks apply to the personal omens detailed on p. 50—ED.]

As elsewhere, the finding of a four-leaved shamrock, without looking for it, brings luck. The following charm is said for this purpose :

" Shamrock of the leaves and the virtues,  
I dearly wish thou wert under my pillow,  
At the time of my falling into deep sleep."

To ascertain if you will marry a certain person, put two straws on the embers at the same time ; if they burn towards each other it is a good sign, if they turn away, aversion or separation.

The number of seeds on a stalk of corn taken from a stack in the dark will show the number of a prospective family.

If you put a cabbage-stock under your pillow, the person you will see in your dream removing it, will be your husband or wife as the case may be.

Hallowe'en is of course the great time for looking into the future, and it may be interesting to quote such methods as we have met with, for the sake of comparison with similar customs elsewhere. The following notes have all been taken at first hand from those who have practised or seen in practice the divinations in question.

There is a saying :

" Hallowe'en will come, will come,  
Witchcraft [or divination] will be set agoing,  
Fairies will be at full speed,  
Running in every pass.  
Avoid the road, children, children."

On Hallowe'en six plates were placed on the floor each with separate contents, and the girl of the house came blindfolded. The first she touched foretold her fate.

1. Pure water portended an unexceptionable husband.
2. Salt, a sailor, 3. Meal, a farmer. 4. Earth, a death.
5. Dirty water, a disreputable husband. 6. An empty plate, no husband.



Another Hallowe'en divination is known as the *Pollag na Samkna* = the little hole of Hallowe'en. The person seeking a revelation of the future digs a little hole in the ground about the size of a saucer, and then loosely replaces the earth, which he removes again next morning. If he find a live worm in it, it is a sign he will be alive next Hallowe'en, if a dead one, that his career is ended. A girl called Kate, who had found a dead worm in her hole, had recently died of measles within the year. In some places the *Pollag* is turned to another account. Three are dug, representing three eligible young men, or maids, as the case may be. The one in which a live worm is found indicates the name of the sweetheart assigned by fate.

Another method is to take a glass half full of water and an egg perforated at the bottom, through which the white is allowed to drop into the water. If it falls to the bottom and remains there, ill-luck will follow; if it rises, it rises slowly, and the method is to hold the glass between the eye and the light and divine the future according to the shapes it may assume. If little round globules come up they should be counted, for they indicate the number of the future family. A variant was, to break an egg into the water, and then, closing the tumbler with the palm of the hand, to turn it quickly upside down and back again, and then watch the forms assumed while the egg is in movement.

Another custom was for young women to go to a stream that was a boundary, and to wash or dip their shifts into the stream and afterwards place them at the fire to dry. All must be done in strict silence, and the man of whom they dreamt, or whose image they saw as from time to time they turned the garment at the fire, was the man they would marry.

Another custom was to go alone to the kiln where grain is dried (nothing gets much chance to dry naturally in such a climate as Uist), taking a coil of heather rope, of which one end was inserted down the flue. The girl then asked, "Who



is that at the end of my rope?" and the name given in answer was that of the future husband.<sup>1</sup>

If a girl went to a house and listened at the door, the first man whose name she heard would be her husband.

There is a mysterious method of divination which consists in carrying an apple on a fork *against the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost* on Hallowe'en, the first person met to be considered one's fate. The custom was quoted with much expression of horror and explained as an importation, not a local practice, which, as forks and apples are alike modern innovations, is very probable.

A favourite dish on Hallowe'en is called *Fuarag*, and suggests the Yorkshire frumenty or furmenty. It is made of churned cream, oatmeal, and sugar. A ring is put into it—on the same principle as into a plum-pudding in England.

A salt cake called *Bonnach Salainn* is eaten on Hallowe'en to induce dreams of the future in store. Not a word must be spoken after taking it, not even prayers if they don't happen to have been said previously, and no water must be drunk. The cake is made of common meal, with an inordinate quantity of salt. A variant on this is to eat a salt herring roasted on the fire. It must be consumed in three bites, bones, fins, and all, and the same conditions observed.

There is one custom observed on Hallowe'en of which unless it be the survival of some ceremony of *blessing*, one does not see the import. It was thus described. The boys of the house, urged by their parents, take a peat from the fire, and proceed round the house, the stackyard, and the barn, sunwise. In going round the stackyard one must enter, and place a stone on each stack on the inside of the heather rope going round the stack.

<sup>1</sup> There was a somewhat similar custom in the Lowlands, where the girls on Hallowe'en used to put their garters outside the window, and pulling them in gently would ask in the same way, "Who is at the end of my garters?"

The girls too have their special game, which has probably some interesting historical origin, if one did but know it. They call it *Mathair M'hor*, "the big mother." All but one sit in a row inside the house, one at the end acting The Big Mother. The remaining child hops in on one foot, and the Mother asks what she has come for. The reply is: "*Dioja, Dioja, Diasgan*" (nonsense words, pronounced *Cheeka, Cheeka, Chelugan*), "MacLeod sent me to ask for a piece of pork." The game is to see how many times this can be said on one leg. It should be remembered that the true Highlander scorns pork, and even when (which is still not often, and was formerly yet more rare) he keeps pigs, it is usually for sale, not for his own use.

#### V.—LEECHCRAFT.

A man who has three times licked the liver of a freshly killed otter when it is still warm, has the power of curing burns and scalds by applying his tongue to the injured part before a blister has had time to rise. Father Allan says that on February 26th, 1896, he saw a man who had burned a finger go to have it licked by two men who had gone through the otter ceremony. The men declared the belief to be very old, and were surprised that he had not seen it done before.

There is a cure for erysipelas almost as nasty. Anyone who has crushed between his hands a young rat before it has any hair, and rubbed the raw flesh all over his own hands, can cure erysipelas and rose-rash for the rest of his life. A man who lately died in Eriskay was in great request to relieve both man and beast in this manner.

An effectual remedy for inflammation in the udder of a cow is to hold a burning peat underneath, and to milk upon it until the peat is extinguished.

A cure for epilepsy is to kill a black cock, and to bury it where the patient first had a fit.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [See *Folklore*, xi., p. 446.]



*Na barrin* is a children's illness that shows itself beneath the tongue, and is accompanied by diarrhœa. There is a charm for it still used in Mingulay, and in Uist a young man aged thirty testifies to having been cured by it when a child. The ceremony consists of putting nine green leaves about the neck of the child with a charm.

An intelligent schoolmaster relates that when the whooping-cough was in his family, a friendly neighbour asked his mother to send her any child that had not yet taken it. The eldest boy was sent, and the woman, who had an ass, passed him three times over the back and under the belly of the creature in the Name of the Blessed Trinity, and then took a piece of bread, which she broke in half, and gave one part to the boy and one to the donkey, and the boy never took the whooping-cough.

An old woman stated that she was once cured of illness many years ago by having cold water made to trickle over a sickle on to her bare back.

If the nature of an illness is not understood, it is a good plan to give the patient three strong pinches of snuff or pepper, and if he does not sneeze the case is undoubtedly fever.

There are many ailments which can only be removed by charms. The following is in use by nursing mothers:

"Look Thou, O Christ, at the breast,  
How painful it is.  
Tell it to gentle Mary,  
Since it was she who bore the Son.  
Whole may the breast be,  
Small may the swelling be,  
Run away, O (giving the name of the complaint)."

Our Lord was walking with His Mother one day by the side of a stream, when a trout was seen jumping out of the water which had lost one eye. Our Lady restored the eye at the intercession of Her Son—hence the charm for the *Greinn Gulmain*, or acute pain in the eye. Three Hail Marys are said, the eye is anointed with spittle put on



three times with the palm of the hand, and the following words are recited :

" The charm that Mary put  
To the eye of the fish at the pool,  
Against  
And against } (here name the special ailments).  
And against the dry scorching ashes,  
The spittle of Mary,  
The spittle of God,  
The spittle of the Mother of the Son of God.  
Thou Who didst shape the eyelid,  
Hale be the stone (pupil) about which it (the eyelid) is."

A charm for a sty in the eye was made by saying the following words, while a sharp-edged tool, such as a knife or axe, is held edgewise towards the eye, as though threatening the ailment or the spirit causing it.

" What put one sty there  
Without two styes ? "

and so on to

" What put eight styes there  
Without nine styes ? "

This, if necessary, is nine times repeated.<sup>1</sup>

Here is a charm for removing any foreign matter which has got into the eye :

" A pin for piercing  
Stuck in a rock  
That sprang from a ling,  
The thing that is in thine eye  
May the King of the Elements  
Put it upon thy tongue."

Another was as follows :

" The dust of a particle of dust,  
The fraction of a particle of hair,  
Coming swiftly as the roe from the grass,  
However small the thing in thine eye,  
May the King of the Elements put it out."

<sup>1</sup> [Cf. *Folklore*, xi., p. 446.]

The following very ancient charm was given to us by the daughter of the merchant at Balivanich, in Benbecula, one of the few persons living on the spot, familiar with the people and acquainted with their language, who has interested herself in any practical way in the customs and beliefs which she has had so excellent an opportunity of noting.

" I have a charm for bruising  
And for blackening (*i.e.* livid black marks made by witches)  
And for enchantment,  
For illness (that comes) in a known way,  
And for illness (that comes) without knowledge.  
May there be no injury  
Among thy four quarters,  
Thou living creature,  
That may not be taken away  
With north wind,  
And with the swiftness of water  
A bit and a sup.  
If you be alive 'tis well  
And if not you will be let alone."

## VI. DEATH AND DROWNING.

Some Uist people were watching a cattle-fold at night near a graveyard. The watchman had occasion to go across to the burial ground when he observed that all the graves were open, and he went to tell his friends. When the dawn came they saw troops of people hurrying back to their graves, which, as they went in, closed after them. Long after the rest came one woman, and they stood in her way, and asked her why she came so late. She owned that she had been a weaveress, and that her feet were hindered by all the threads she had pilfered when weaving her neighbours' yarn. They let her pass by, and the grave closed over her again.

A second wife is liable to suffer from the *Dead man's nip*, probably a visitation from her predecessor. In the same

way a first wife will see the person of her successor beside the husband.

Some of the people in the islands have such a horror of the dead that there is sometimes a difficulty in getting a corpse prepared for burial. It is said that those who have once handled a dead body are never afraid again. There are so many superstitions connected with death that one cannot wonder that the entire subject should, even more than elsewhere, have painful associations of mystery and fear.

When one comes into the presence of a corpse, it is wise to lay one's hand upon it; otherwise one may have *to see it again*.

After a death, the sea-grass of which the bed is made is burned, and the ascending smoke is a sign to the neighbours that they should pray for the deceased. This bed is not made up in a case, but the grass is simply placed in the bottom of the box-bed to the depth of a foot, and a sheet spread over it. This is quite comfortable, and is easily renewed, or even cleaned by being left out in the rain.

In the south end of Uist, the corpse is not laid out on a bed, but on a board or planks, generally in the kitchen. The wall alongside is draped with a white sheet. Sacred pictures, and holy water, and rosary-beads are left beside the body.

A bowl of water is sometimes placed in a bed from which a corpse has been removed, the reason given being that the corpse may be thirsty. A plate with salt upon it is always placed upon the breast of a corpse.

The bands which tie the toes of a corpse when stretched, out for burial, and the bands on the face and hands, are all unloosed when the body is put into the coffin, so that it may not be detained on its way to Judgment on the Last Day. There is a curious euphemistic phrase in Gaelic, "after the tying of the toes," *e.g.*, "many a thing will be known after the tying of the toes." The common form of execration is



"*Spriolag ort!*" The *spriolag* is the band tied about the head of a corpse.

If a person's feet feel unaccountably tired, it is a presage of having to go and invite people to a funeral. These invitations are always personal, and necessarily so where there is no written language, and where the means of communication are rudimentary. There is much ceremony observed, and to be neglected in the invitations is a serious slight. On the other hand, no one, however intimate, would attend without being asked.

Alms are given to the poor when any relative dies, for the sake of his soul.

The etiquette of mourning is somewhat elaborate. The pipes are silent for at least a year in a house where there has been a death. On one occasion when we were privileged to be present at the ceremonial of "fulling the cloth," *i.e.* dressing the home-made tweed, the owner of the web sat by silent, taking no part in the labour, though it concerned what she had herself spun and woven. A relative had died in the meantime.

There are some curious beliefs about drowning, a subject naturally ever present to the islanders in thought and speech.

There is a little black spot which everyone has on some part of the body. Those who have it "above the breath," *i.e.* above the mouth, can never be drowned. It is called the "otter spot," *ball dobhrain*.

In Gairloch there is a belief that no one was ever drowned while the sun was visible in the sky.

It is believed in Uist that idiots cannot be drowned, as it is the weight of brain that takes a man to the bottom. Many stories are told in support of this. Father Allan tells of an idiot, well known to him, that he was one day sent down to the shore to soak a heather rope to make it tough. He threw it out on to the surf and then went in after it, but the tide swept him off his feet and carried him out to sea in a sitting

posture. He would have been thus conveyed, probably, say his friends, to America, if a lobster boat had not picked him up. Another idiot in Tochar was carried so far out to sea that he was only discovered by the sight of the sea-gulls hovering over him. He was found stretched out at ease singing songs.

The above miscellaneous gatherings are, so to speak, the flotsam and jetsam of the wild seas of the Outer Hebrides. They present, I believe, considerable material for the commentator and the comparative folklorist, but the task of discussion is one for which the present writer lacks—among other things—at this moment, leisure, though she looks forward to the attempt on some future occasion, and is content for the present to hope that others, better equipped, may find texts or illustrations for collections made in other fields, or stimulus to pursue further her own attempts in this.

A. GOODRICH-FREER.

## UNLUCKY CHILDREN.

BY H. A. ROSE.

(Read at Meeting, 4th December, 1901.)

THERE appear to be a number of customs and superstitions connected with the place each child occupies in the family which, as far as I am aware, have not been fully recorded or explained.

These superstitions are apparently quite distinct from any of those which attach to children born under certain stars, or in certain months, or on certain days of the week.

### THE FIRST-BORN.<sup>1</sup>

The first-born has always held a peculiarly sacred position, especially if born in answer to a vow to parents who have long been without offspring, in which case sacrifice of the child was common in India.<sup>2</sup> The Mairs used to sacrifice a first-born son to Mâtâ, the small-pox goddess,<sup>3</sup> while Mohammadans throughout Northern India believe that first-born children can stop excessive rain by certain rites.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, a first-born son will in Telingana attract lightning.<sup>5</sup>

### TWINS.

Twins, as is well known, are peculiarly uncanny, but in Dahomey a boy born *after* twins has a special name (*dosu*), according to Burton (*Mission to Gelele King of Dahomey*, i., p. 99, *Memorial Edition*).

### THE TRIKHAL.

But many remarkable ideas cluster round the *third conception*, or round a child of one sex born *after* three children of the other sex.

<sup>1</sup> A first-born child (Jesth) must not be married in Jesth. *Punjab Notes and Queries*, vol. iii., § 10.

<sup>2</sup> Moote's *Hindu Infanticide*, pp. 198-9.

<sup>3</sup> Sherring, *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, iii., p. 66.

<sup>4</sup> *Punjab Notes and Queries*, 1883, vol. i., 116 and 463.

<sup>5</sup> *North Indian Notes and Queries*, 1891, vol. i., 378.



Thus in the South-west Punjab on the borders of Sindh the former superstition prevails; and its results are thus described: "*Trikhal* is the third conception after two births (without regard to the sexes of the former children). It is a Jatki word, literally meaning third, and implies contempt. This conception is considered unlucky among Hindus, especially in Jampur. Every effort is made to effect abortion, and many cases of abortion take place. It is suspected that the third child is killed at birth if the attempts to cause the abortion have failed. Dread of the law prevents any attempt to kill the child when it has survived its birth."

This, however, appears to be a local variant, as the other superstition is far more prevalent; and its effects, and the measures taken to avert them, are thus described by an intelligent Punjab official:

"A child of one sex born after three children of the other sex is called, in Punjabi, *Trikhal*, as for example, a boy born after three girls. Such a child is considered unlucky, and its birth portends—

- (1) the death of a parent;
- (2) loss of wealth by the parents;
- (3) the taking fire of the house in which the child was born;

or (4) some other calamity, such as lightning or snake-bite.

"If this child grows up without the parents suffering any injury, and is taller than the parents, they are benefited instead of injured by the birth, *i.e.* their lives are prolonged, or, if poor, they become rich, and are protected against all misfortunes.

"Many Hindus believe that the children born *after a Trikhal* cannot live long.

"The following remedies are adopted at the birth of such a child, to avert the evil effects of the birth:

- (1) The father pours a quantity of *ghi* down the gutter

of the roof of the room in which the child was born.

- (2) A brass tray is broken in the centre and the child passed through the hole.
- (3) A horse-shoe is painted with *sandúr* (red oxide of mercury) and scented with *gúgal* (a drug) and attached to the bed of the mother. The shoe is re-painted with *sandúr* and scented every Tuesday.
- (4) If the third day after the birth be a Sunday, a ceremony known as *Trikhal Shanti* (propitiation of the *Trikhal*) is performed. Green leaves from seven trees are collected and put in an earthen pitcher with 101 holes in its bottom. Another pitcher is filled with water taken from seven wells. The mother, with her child, sits under the drain of the roof of the house in which the child was born. A *Pandit* recites to her a *katha* from the *Trikhal Shanti Shastra*, while a female relative of the mother holds a sieve over her head. The pitcher containing the green leaves is placed on the sieve, and the father pours the water of the seven wells down the drain of the roof, so that the water passing through the pitcher and the sieve may trickle slowly over the mother's head.
- (5) If the charm whose figure is given below be set in gold and tied to the neck of the mother all evil is avoided.

*Teri jan men ya na jan men mere kharne ko jagah de.*

ya meri sunnat	ya meri sunnat	ya meri sunnat
ya meri sunnat	ya meri sunnat	ya meri sunnat
ya meri sunnat	ya meri sunnat	ya meri sunnat

"The belief relates chiefly to the first *Trikkal* born in the family; it applies to boys more than to girls (and indeed it is said in Kasur<sup>1</sup> that a *girl* after three boys is not unlucky at all),<sup>2</sup> and evil is to be feared by both parents, but principally by the parent of corresponding sex. Moreover, a boy born after three girls is also apt to be himself unlucky."

The ceremonies used to avert the evil effects, are often those employed when a child is born under an evil *nakshatra*; but L. Lachmi Narain (Gurdaspur) states that for a *trikkhal*, five earthen pitchers filled with water, containing golden images of Brahma, Vishnu, Mahesh, Indra, and Rudra, are worshipped; whereas in the case of a birth under the asterisms of Jyestá, Mula, Ashlekhá,<sup>3</sup> and Maghá, the leaves of seven trees<sup>3</sup> are used as described in No. 4 above; and in the case of a child born in Kárttik, four images of Brahma, Indra, Rudra, and Suraj, are placed in four pitchers covered with red and white cloth, and a little of the water sprinkled over the mother and child. Lastly, for a child born during an eclipse, three gold images, one of the *nakshatra* of birth, another of Ráhu, and a third of the sun or moon (as the eclipse may have been) are worshipped.

Another name for the *trikkhal* is *tretar* (said to be derived from Sks. *tri*, three, and *attar*, enemy<sup>4</sup>), and in Hoshiarpur the performance of a fire-sacrifice with the aid of a Brahman after the *sútak* period, is usual. *Pala*<sup>5</sup> wood is burnt, and sugar, &c., thrown on to it.

In Karnal and Rohtak, a son born after three girls is usually called *telar*, (or named Telu Ram); and in

<sup>1</sup> See *Punjab Notes and Queries*, 1886, vol. iii., 453.

<sup>2</sup> And in Amritsar a girl so born is called "*bukhal*" or "lucky" child. Cf. *ibid.*, 1885, vol. ii., § 824, also § 136 (in Bombay).

<sup>3</sup> They should be male trees (*katha*, *anár*, *tut*, &c.) according to the Jhelum note.

<sup>4</sup> [*I*: merely means "third."—W. CROOKE.]

<sup>5</sup> [*Palasha*.—W. CROOKE.]



Rohtak various ways of averting the evil he may bring are described. In one, the parents sit on a plough and bathe from an earthen vessel containing 108 or 101 holes with water from the Ganges and 27 wells, 108 medicines (!) and milk. The water is passed through a sieve, but in some places a sieve is held to be unlucky. In another ceremony the parents bathe in water (passed through a sieve) drawn from 27 wells, and in which stones from 27 places and leaves from 27 trees have been placed. This must be done 27 days after the birth. 27, 14, or 7 Brahmans are also feasted. After these ceremonies a pair of snakes are made of a precious metal, and given with seven kinds of grain to the Dakaut Brahman.

In another rite, a horse-shoe, painted with vermilion figures, is burnt on the third or tenth day after the birth. It is lucky if this day falls on a Sunday.

The superstition appears then to take various forms, and the rites practised are very diverse, those used to avoid other unlucky births being often resorted to, though it appears that, strictly speaking, special rites should be performed. It is said to be confined in Nahan to immigrants from Hoshiarpur.

It is possibly connected with the astrological doctrine of trines, but the powers of the first-born are not thereby explained.

Several correspondents mention that the belief and rites are described in the Shastras, but no references are given. In 1885, a Sanskrit book called "*Trikhal Shanti*" was published at Lahore, giving an account of the belief. The sage Pushkar asks Bhargat how a *Trikhal* can be propitiated. The reply is that it should be abandoned, as it will cause the death of its parents and maternal uncle<sup>1</sup> within seven months, and also destroy itself.

<sup>1</sup> The part which the maternal uncle plays in marriage rites is well known. He is in grave peril if his sister's child cut its upper teeth first.

THE EIGHTH CHILD.<sup>1</sup>

The eighth child (*i.e.* the one after the *seventh*?), is very unlucky if a son, as he is sure to cause his *father's* death.<sup>2</sup> But in Karnal the eighth child is peculiarly dangerous to the *mother*.

The remedy is, to pass a *charkha*, or spinning-wheel, thrice round the mother, and give it to the midwife. The *charkha* must be in perfect order.

*Dhái Sira* OR "2½ HEAD."

Mr. Talbot writes that in Jhelum, a *Trikkal* is drilled with 2½ holes—a local expression meaning two holes in one ear and one in the other, or one in each ear and one in the nose. In Mozaffargarh a *dhái-sira*, *múla* or *sat-sira* is a child whose head has not been properly shaped.

How is the use of the number "2½" to be explained?<sup>3</sup>

The information obtained requires to be still further supplemented and the various forms of belief explained.

H. A. ROSE,

*Superintendent of Ethnography, Punjab.*

SIMLA, July 29th, 1901.

<sup>1</sup> Connected apparently with the eight names of Rudra. Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, iv., pp. 383 et seq.

<sup>2</sup> *Indian Notes and Queries*, 1886, vol. iv., § 94.

<sup>3</sup> [*Savdi* = 1¼, *i.e.* one-quarter better than other people, is a name of good omen, implying superiority and good luck. Double this is *Dhái* = 2½ *i.e.* better still.—W. CROOKE.]

## COLLECTANEA.

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### BOER FOLK-MEDICINE AND SOME PARALLELS.

IN the Blue-book containing the *Reports on the Working of the Refugee Camps in the Transvaal, Orange River Colony, Cape Colony, and Natal*, mention is made by three or four of the doctors inspecting the camps of the treatment and remedies for illness they found in use among the Boers. I have thought it worth while to put together the following extracts, as it is interesting to find that the methods used are similar to such as were general here many years ago and are still occasionally to be met with.

Unfortunately, few of the inspectors enter into details, but all agree that the Boers, especially the poorer classes, have little or no knowledge of sanitation or hygiene. To the use of soap and water they have a particular aversion. A schoolmaster related the following incident to Dr. W. M. Brown. An old Boer with six children attending school said to him in conversation quite seriously, that since his children had been to school in the camp they were so cleanly and changed in their habits that he himself was obliged to wash his face and hands before meals to be in countenance with them (p. 335).

This aversion is especially pronounced in illness. Neither children nor elders are apparently allowed when ill either to drink water or to be washed, except occasionally the face and hands. "In one tent at Irene Camp," says Dr. Kendal Franks, "the children were in their ordinary clothes lying on mats. One child had peritonitis. In order to see the abdomen, I had to undo some of the clothes; the skin beneath was as black as a Kaffir's, covered with accumulations of dirt. To see the skin it would have been necessary to scrape the dirt off." He says children generally were put to bed with their clothes on. The clothing



was changed once a week; but when ill, nothing would induce the mother to take off or change the child's clothing. With fever cases, the higher the fever, the more clothing or rugs are piled on (pp. 163-164).

"I saw a girl," says Dr. Kendal Franks elsewhere, "in Tent No. 101 in camp at Middelburg, with Dr. Spencer. The girl was suffering from renal dropsy, supposed to be due to a chill when convalescing from enteric fever. She was about eighteen years old. From her hips down to her feet she was wrapped up in a poultice made of horse-dung, which her mother, who was present, explained was taking the swelling down from her face." (Middelburg Camp, p. 333.)

Dr. Kendal Franks also notes that the Boers prepare the floors of their tents by smearing them with cow-dung, as they are accustomed to do in their own houses. (Balmoral Camp, p. 324.)

In the camp at Krugersdorp, two cases of pneumonia were found when admitted to have been freely smeared with ordinary green house-paint, and there is no doubt that death was due to arsenical poisoning (p. 250).

In another report from Dr. Franks on the Refugee Camps at Krugersdorp, Potchefstroom, and Klerksdorp, he says: "A recent remedy among the Boers, no matter what is the ailment, is to paint the part affected with green paint. Three children suffering from a complaint which I was unable to ascertain were painted all over with green paint, with the exception of the face. All three of the children died from acute arsenical poisoning. Another child, aged two, was given by its mother at the same time patent medicines, comprising Hoffman's drops, containing ether; Essenz dulcis, containing opium; Red powder, containing tartar emetic; Jamaica ginger and 'Dutch drops,' composition unknown." Tinned sardines he found were given to another child, aged four months, instead of milk (p. 193).

Dr. G. S. Woodroffe says that in one instance, when he had prescribed for a child, the next morning the mother took it to another doctor, who also prescribed for it. The next morning she called in yet another. This doctor refused to prescribe. She was then giving the child the medicines alternately which had been prescribed by the first two doctors, and had the third prescribed the child would have been taking medicines prescribed by three doctors all at once. "The most famous 'quack' doctor

in the camp [Irene] is a cripple, whose sole qualification is that he was an attendant on one of the Boer ambulances. He parades a great red cross on his sleeve and another on his hat" (p. 334).

In another report from the Burgher Camp at Irene, Dr. G. S. Woodroffe states that the method among the Boers when a patient's temperature is high is to put all the blankets on to the bed in the hottest part of the day. The idea is that a patient with a high temperature must be kept so; further, medicine of one sort or another must be given every hour. On two occasions Mr. Woodroffe found young children asleep with pin-point pupils, suffering with bronchitis. The medicine prescribed by him had not been given. In one of these cases the mother had given the child ten drops of essence of paregoric every half-hour, the child being six months old. The child died. He adds, "No one can imagine the difficulty a medical man has in preventing these people using their dangerous, useless, and disgusting remedies. Goat's dung and wormwood made into a decoction and drunk in quantities is the favourite 'drippel' or 'middel' for bringing out the measles. Pieces of raw meat are bandaged over each eye in acute conjunctivitis, and most of these cases are caused by dirt. Babies' ears are receptacles for an endless variety of rubbish, and consequently otorrhœa is very common. Rags wetted with human urine are used for open flesh-wounds, and so on. The patients and their relations need watching. Food, especially in typhoid cases where the patient is hungry, is brought in by the mothers; or a mother may watch her child, and the nurse as well, and as soon as the nurse leaves the ward for a minute or two she may return and find child and mother gone. This actually happened here," (p. 240).

Dried peaches and bags of Boer biscuits were constantly being given to the patients in hospital at Middelburg Camp, which would have caused certain death if eaten in the invalids' then condition.

Dr. Henderson, reporting on the camp at Pietersburg, says he found it an article of faith with the Boers that water applied to a patient, unless as a drink, is absolutely fatal, and especially in the form of a poultice. "Each and every one had their own particular treatment, and from the filthy decoction of goat droppings in oil and all ordinary Dutch remedies, as well as a liberal supply from our own 'apotheek,' all had a turn. In dieting, comforts supplied in the shape of brandy, port wine, milk, soup, &c., were



disregarded, and Chinese figs and sardines given in cases of vomiting and diarrhoea," (p. 263).

"A girl was convalescing from enteric. She was given dried peaches, which the child ate, and nearly died. A woman and her son were in hospital suffering from enteric. A friend came to visit her carrying something under her apron. The sister asked what it was. The woman produced a bottle containing a brown looking fluid which she said was very good to relieve thirst. The sister asked what it was, and the woman told her it was horse-dung cooked in water and strained. 'It is very good; you can taste it if you like.' The invitation was not accepted, and the woman was sent away, very indignant that her remedy was not appreciated. A similar infusion made with goat's dung is a very favourite drink given by the Boers to bring out the rash in measles. The matron has seen it several times employed in this camp." (Middelburg Camp, p. 333.)

Dr. Kendal Franks, writing on the Heidelberg Camps, also says that "Neglecting their children is the result of a certain fatalism which is common among them. 'It is God's will,' is the excuse or reason they give for sitting by a sick child and never moving as much as a finger to give it food or medicine ordered by the doctor. A misdirected energy often enables them to make shrouds, &c., for their children while they still live, and while, in my opinion, there is still every hope for them" (p. 299). In the Report on Belfast Camp, he says, "It is a well-known custom with the Boers to keep coffins ready for use in their houses, a wise precaution, considering the hot climate and the isolated condition of the farmhouses. Two old Boers brought their coffins with them, and propped them up against the outside of their tents," (p. 327).

The following examples illustrate some of the foregoing points:—

I. I heard some years ago from a nurse in a Children's Hospital in London, of one case where a child was found to be so dirty that ordinary washing was of no use to cleanse the child's skin. Bread poultices had to be applied to the child's feet to remove some of the dirt, and the child was thoroughly frightened when the nurse washed his body all over. After having a bath for the first time, he told his parents when they visited him of the extraordinary thing that had been done. He regarded it, and possibly the parents did also, as undergoing a serious operation.



When some of my own children were ill with measles, a nurse I had in the house told me that children with measles should not be washed nor their bed-linen changed for the first week; and that the sun should be excluded from the room, otherwise they might be made blind for life; and that in her mother's time the children would be put to bed in their clothes, and these would not be changed until after the third day.

II. I do not know any instances of people here giving their children such a variety of medicines as the Boer women give theirs, but I have frequently heard of medicine left over from one illness being given to another child with an entirely different complaint; on the ground that it had done so much good to the first, and it was a pity to waste it.

III. A lady told me a short time ago that she had known Dutch-women make a decoction from the leaves of a plant, and with this liquid, which was of a greenish colour, rub the bodies of their children who were ill with measles or fever. Perhaps the green paint used by the Boer women is a substitute for this green liquid, the knowledge of which is forgotten.

IV. A short time ago a monthly-nurse told me she knew of a man who had had ulcerous sores on one of his legs for years. He walked about with crutches. He was first an out and then an in-patient at St. George's Hospital. Here he was told his case was incurable and advised to have his leg amputated. To this he objected, saying, "I came into the world with two legs and I won't go out of it with one only." He did not then expect to live more than a few months. This nurse had known the man for years, and when she heard of his resolve to die rather than have his leg off, she told him she believed she could cure him, if he would submit to her treatment and would promise to let her carry it out for a certain time. The man agreed. The case, she said, was one of blood-poisoning, and the remedy used was cow-dung. The nurse told me she went herself to the place where the cows were kept, and by arrangement with the cowkeeper took the freshly-dropped dung and applied it as a poultice to the wounds, having first carefully washed them. She did this twice a day for a short period, then less frequently. In a fortnight the wounds had begun to heal, and in another week or so the patient was able to walk without his crutch and resume his work. The nurse further said this happened about two years or more ago. The

man has continued well and has been constantly at work since, and has had no further trouble with his leg. She occasionally sees him now, when he always remarks on the cure she had made. During the time she was attending him the patient had to abstain from malt and spirituous liquors, only drinking light drinks she prepared for him. The nurse told me she got her knowledge of this cure from her grandmother, who was a village doctress, much resorted to by villagers for miles round the place where she lived in Yorkshire. She had stayed with her grandmother when a child and had seen her perform cures and set broken limbs.

The story of this cure brought to my mind that when, many years ago, a relative of mine was being treated by our doctor for an open wound caused by blood-poisoning, a maid-servant living with us at the time expressed to me her wish that we would use the proper remedy of solutions from dung, instead of the doctor's lotions and ointments.

Miss Burne has kindly given me the following notes of similar remedies, both for external and internal use.

"*Cow-sharn*, s. cow-dung . . . . It is still used by the lower orders as a cataplasm for bruises and sprains, being applied to the parts affected as hot as the patient can bear it. In fact, whilst these lines are written, I am told that a similar poultice has just been laid upon Miss J——'s leg." Rev. C. H. Hartshorne, *Salopia Antiqua* (1841), p. 376, s.v.

"*Cow-sharn* [kou shaar'n], s*o*. cow-dung. (Shrewsbury. Pulverbatch.) 'The best thing as ever I met ööth fur bad legs is a *cow-sharn* pultis.' 'Aye; 'ow dun 'ee mak' it?' 'Tak' a 'antle o' wutmil an' as much *cow-sharn* as 'll mix well together, an' püt it on the leg, it 'll swage the swellin' an' mak' it as cool as a cowcöömer.' . . . 'They say that bull's *sherne* is an excellent complexion, forsooth, to set a fresh rosat or vermilion colour on the ball of the cheek.' Holland's *Pliny*, vol. ii., p. 327." G. F. Jackson, *Shropshire Word-Book* (1879-1881), s.v.<sup>1</sup>

"*Blood-poisoning*.—A quantity of dung is caught as it falls from a cow and applied hot to the wound. Oban." (MS. note by the late Dr. Gregor.)

<sup>1</sup> "Wutmil" is oatmeal. A cow-dung poultice was a remedy known at Edmond (Salop) in my youth, and considered particularly "drawing" and "searching." These various examples fairly represent the area of the county of Salop.—C. S. BURNE.



"*A laxative*.—'Sheep-pearls,' *i.e.* the droppings of sheep dissolved in water and drunk. My informant has seen mothers administer this dose to their children. Near Lochlomond." (MS. note by the late Dr. Gregor.)

"*Tricklins* [tr'ik-linz], *sb.* sheep's dung—Pulverbach. It was formerly—before the age of vaccination—a popular belief that 'ship's *tricklin's*,' duly administered, would cure the small-pox. 'Bessy, yo' mind as Granny dunna pūt ship's *tricklin's* i' my yarb-tay. I canna tak' it if 'er does—nod if I'm marked ever so.'" G. F. Jackson, *Shropshire Word-Book*, p. 453, s.v.

I hope to deal with the information given in the second Blue-book in a future number.

ALICE B. GOMME.

#### THE SISTER'S SON IN SAMOA.

(Communicated by Mr. Andrew Lang.)

When I was at Apia in Samoa with Commodore Goodenough in the *Pearl*, in 1873, I met the American Consul, who had married a Samoan, and who told me the following story of a custom called *Vasu* which prevailed in the islands as regards the rights of a nephew to his uncle's property.

There was a chief called "Bullamacow," who came to see his uncle and admired very much a bread-fruit house<sup>1</sup> he had just put up. The uncle said it had cost him a great deal, in fact nearly ruined him. Bullamacow said he thought it would look well in his "square." The uncle then said, "Pray, don't say that." However Bullamacow would not change his mind. All this meant that the uncle was to give Bullamacow his house, which he did not quite see.

So the nephew goes away disappointed. But a few days after this someone comes to the uncle's house, and says to one of the children, "Where is your mother?" and he answers, "Bullamacow has taken her away," as is the custom in these cases. The uncle

<sup>1</sup> A house for the storage of bread-fruit.



bears it for a few days, but at last, longing to have his wife home again, makes up his mind to give up the house. This, however, is not enough now; he must take a present as well. So he trudges off with some baked pigs. When he arrives at his nephew's, Bullamacow says to him, "Why did you take the trouble to come all this way? I was just going to take your wife down to you to-morrow, but, however, as you have come, you will be able to stay here and take her back then yourself." Then when he sees the pigs he says, "How very unnecessary it was for you to bring these things."

However, he allows himself to be persuaded, and accepts the present. Now the uncle has to do the rest of the business, and it has to be done with delicacy. So he says, "Now, how do you think the bread-fruit house would look in *that* place? I think it would suit well;" and so the matter is settled. Next day the uncle takes his wife home, and a few days later Bullamacow comes down and carries off the bread-fruit house. So the poor uncle is ruined.

In the same way, if a nephew takes a fancy to a gun of his uncle's, he comes and takes it. Should the uncle naturally object to part with it, the nephew goes home and tells his mother, who says it will be all right: she will arrange matters. So she pronounces a curse upon the other family, saying the children shall die of elephantiasis. This so works upon their fears that they are ready to give anything up. It is to be noted that only the children of the *eldest* sister have the privilege of *Vasu*.

The Consul said that during the fighting, men used often to bring guns to his house to hide them from their nephews; and sometimes they have slept with guns lashed to their legs; but the nephews have come and taken them away even then.

I give this account from a journal kept at at the time.

A. C. STANLEY.

Rome, 4th December, 1901.

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## RICE HARVEST, AND OTHER CUSTOMS IN CEYLON.

*(Communicated by Mr. A. Lang and Mr. J. G. Frazer.)*

(See vol. xii., p. 457.)

[The first part of the following Notes, dated 31 December, 1901, was impartially sent by the writer to both Mr. Lang and Mr. Frazer, and reached the Editor's hands from both sources on the same day: the rest was addressed to Mr. Frazer alone.]

At Kattaragam, near Hambantotta (Ceylon), is a temple of the Tamil or Hindu god Madu Sami, the Road or River god. In the hot weather, about April or May, after the rice-harvest is in, the priests seek out a shallow place in the river, about one foot deep, and dig a hole in the bottom of the river large enough to hold tightly a bag of paddy (rice). The dry paddy is packed in a sack, put into the hole, tightly jammed in, and the god is placed on the top of it under about one foot of water. The paddy swells in the water, and cannot expand laterally, so rises upwards and carries the god with it. It takes, say, fourteen days to reach the surface. On the 13th day the priests come at night, and finding the god near the surface, proclaim that the new god will rise to-morrow and have an assembly. . . .

The Tamils at Pongul "boil the rice"<sup>1</sup> in the cattle-shed, and they also decorate the cattle with flowers, ribbons, and handkerchiefs; and they get one bullock and decorate him, and goad him to run and butt them, and the bravest coolie runs up and snatches a ribbon. The god here worshipped is Madu Sami, and he lives in the phallic emblem under the pipul or fig-tree. Tufts of dried grass are hung like tufts on a kite's tail from trees all round, and form festoons (to keep away evil spirits?).

You will find an account of the Perahera procession, by A. E. Souter, in the *English Illustrated Magazine* (August, 1901, p. 474).

[We give a brief abstract. The festival takes place annually at Kandy, in May, June, or July, usually July. The first night the new moon is visible, the priests of the four temples of Vishnu, Natha, Pattini (goddess of small-pox), and Kataragama, take a young jaktree not yet fruited (its fruit is one of the principal foods

<sup>1</sup> [The first-fruits of the rice-harvest?—ED.]



of the natives), and the priest-woodcutter of Vishnu cuts it into four parts, which are carried ceremonially to the four temples, and for four days the bows and arrows of each deity are carried daily round his log. On the fifth day the bows and arrows are carried in shrines on elephants, escorted by devil-dancers (cf. *F. L.*, xi., 456) to the temple of Buddha's tooth. (The connection of Buddha with the festival is known to date only from 1775.) The *empty shrine* of the tooth is placed on an elephant and the whole company march round the town for nine successive nights. On the second and following nights a sword and a golden water-vessel are carried in a palanquin immediately after the weapons of each god. On the fifteenth night the shrine of the tooth is deposited at the *Gedige*, a college of priests; the rest of the company repair to their respective temples, where offerings of curry, rice, and cakes are made to the gods and then eaten, and the procession re-formed, without the shrine, goes outside the town to the bank of the river. "The chief priest of each of the four *dewales* (temples), bearing the four swords of the gods, and accompanied by four attendant priests carrying the golden pitchers, go down to the water's edge, where they find a boat. They embark and row into the middle of the sullenly-flowing river. With faces turned towards the east, they wait, motionless and quiet, amid the perfect silence of those on the shore. Then the first streak of dawn steals into the sky; immediately the priests strike the waters with their swords, describing a circle in honour of Krishna, the sun-god, and at the same moment the attendants empty the golden pitchers and refill them from the waters within the charmed circle. With much rejoicing the boat returns to shore; the water-vessels are replaced in their palanquins with the swords, and the whole procession goes back in the early morning sunshine to the *Gedige*, where the procession of the tooth joins them, when all return to Kandy and disperse." Religious dancing and feasting are carried on in the temples for fourteen more days: then the pieces of jak-tree are thrown into the river. ("They have an idea that if any possession flows steadily down a river, it means prosperity to the owner." Cingalese women when they cut their hair throw the ends into a river that their tresses may be long and flowing as the stream.) The Perahera closes with a final procession on the thirty-first day. This account, though referred to by Dr. Drummond himself, shows a slight discrepancy with the remainder of his letter.]



In answer to the question, what becomes of the water after it is "cut" from the river at sunrise? I have found out that it is kept *untouched* in the temple for a year, and when new water is again "cut" and brought next year, the old "vintage" is put into a second reserved vessel and used to cure diseases, act as charms, land-devil-dispellers, &c. But note that it is kept a year before using it in that way.

R. J. DRUMMOND.

Belgravia, Talawakelle, Ceylon.

#### PULI RÁJA, OR THE TIGER PRINCE.

A Hindu Folk-Tale from South India. Recorded by M. N. VENKATASVÁMI, M.R.A.S., and edited by W. CROOKE.

There was once a King who, though he paid many a vow, had no heir. At last, in despair, his Queen urged him to retire to the forest. So he made over the kingdom to his Wazir and they went off to the forest, in which lived many tigers, but none of them harmed mankind. One day the Queen saw a tigress with her cubs, and she said, "Would that God would bestow on me even a tiger cub!" And as she prayed her wish was granted, and in due time she bore a tiger cub, which they named Puli Rája, the Tiger Prince. They had a nice cage made and put him in it, and he was brought up there, and they did not go to see him for many a long day. But when at last they visited him he said, "It is time I were married. Get me a wife."

The King was much distressed at this, and consulted his Wazir. "Be not troubled," he answered. "Give me four bags of *varas*,<sup>1</sup> and I will get him a bride." The King gave the money to the Wazir and he started off. By-and-by he came to an inn, so he went in to eat, and when he paid for his meals he opened the bags in the forecourt of the house and began counting the money. "Why have you brought this money?" the innkeeper asked. "I am come to buy a girl to be wife for the King's son." "Take my eldest daughter," said she. So he brought the girl back, and the King had a marriage booth made as high as the sky

<sup>1</sup> A coin worth about seven shillings.

and a marriage platform as large as the earth,<sup>1</sup> and the girl was married to a knife,<sup>2</sup> thinking piteously all the time, "Why is this? The King is said to have a son, and I am married to a knife!" In the evening she was taken to the Tiger Prince and put into his cage. But next morning they found that he had torn her in pieces.

Again the Tiger Prince prayed to his father for a wife. And the Wazir engaged to buy one for eight bags of *varas*. Again he went to the innkeeper, who said, "Is my daughter well?" The Wazir answered, "She is well. But I want a second wife for the Prince." "Take my youngest daughter," said the innkeeper. So the Wazir mounted her on the elephant which carried the money and set out with her for the palace.

On the way he got down to bathe, and while he was away a party of women passed by to draw water, and the girl heard them say, "The other day a girl was married to the Tiger Prince and he gobbled her up. Now a second girl is going to him, and he will serve her in the same way." At this the girl began to weep, and just then the Lord Siva and Párvati his spouse were flying in the sky. The goddess heard the cry of a woman, and brought Siva to the spot, who said, "Daughter, why dost thou weep?" "Because I am to be married to the Tiger Prince," said the girl, "and he killed my sister, and I fear he will kill me." And Siva answered, "Take a garland of *kasinda* flowers,<sup>3</sup> a bowl of water, and a handful of sand. When you are taken to the Tiger Prince put the garland round his neck, sprinkle the sand and water over him, and he will turn into a beautiful young man." But she objected, "When his parents see the man with me they will ask whence he came and why I have driven the Tiger Prince into the jungle. How can I clear myself?" The Lord Siva answered, "Take off the garland from his neck, sprinkle sand and water over him again, and he will turn into a tiger once more; then they cannot help believing you."

<sup>1</sup> All Indian marriages are conducted in a booth made of bamboos and decorated with plantain-leaves and flowers. In this is erected a platform of earth in which the bride and bridegroom are seated. After their robes are knotted together they are led round the sacred fire lighted in the booth, while appropriate *mantras*, or holy texts of the Veda, are recited.

<sup>2</sup> The usual ritual in proxy-marriages among high-caste Hindoos. Sometimes a sword is used.

<sup>3</sup> *Cassia occidentalis*; flowers yellow. *Kasinda* = cure for itching.



So the girl was brought to the palace, and wedded with the same ceremonies as her sister, and on the bridal night she was placed in the cage of the Tiger Prince. When he saw her, he sprang upon her to rend her, but she put the garland on his neck, and sprinkled the sand and water over him, and behold ! he was turned into a young man, and they enjoyed each other's society till the morning. Then the King and Queen came to visit them, and were amazed when they saw a young man in place of the Tiger Prince. "Do you want your *Puli Rāja*?" the bride asked ; and turned him into a tiger again, and then again restored him to human form. His parents were overwhelmed with joy, and the pair lived happily for many days.

By-and-by the Princess became with child, and her girl-cousin, who envied her, came to *Puli Rāja* and said, "Her mother desires to see her ; let me take her to our own people." He gave his consent, and the two girls set out together. On the way they came to a well, and the cousin proposed that they should look at their reflections in the water. "I am not beautiful, as you are," said she, "but let me put on your jewels, and let us look again, and you will see what a difference that makes." The Princess gave her the jewels, but when she came to the brink of the well to look again, the cousin pushed her in.

Now there lived an old snake in this well, who was then afflicted with a great boil just on his hood, and who suffered greatly. When the Princess fell in, she dropped just on the neck of the snake ; the boil burst and he was cured. In his joy the snake dived with her down, down through the water, till they came to *Nāgaloka*, the snake kingdom beneath the earth. He took her to his wife. "This is our daughter, who has healed me of my painful disease. Tend her well and treat her with honour." So the Princess remained in the under-world with the snakes, and there in due time she gave birth to a son.

But the cousin went to the Tiger Prince and pretended to be his wife. "How can this be?" said *Puli Rāja* to himself. "My wife was ruddy and beautiful, not like this one." But at last, though with great misgivings, he accepted her as his wife, and in course of time she also bore him a son.

Some time passed by, and one day a bangle-merchant went past the well, crying, "Bangles ! lacquered bangles ! glass bangles ! who wants bangles ?" Then the Princess called to him out of



the well, and said, "Merchant, fit a set of bangles on my wrists." "How can I come into the well?" he asked. "Come down the steps," said she.<sup>1</sup> So he came down, and while he was fitting on the bangles her son cried, and she sang to him thus:

"My darling! my princeling! the tiger's own son,  
No garland was needed to make thee a man,  
O hush thee, the old man will do thee no harm  
While he fits pretty bangles on mother's soft arm."<sup>2</sup>

And the bangle-seller was amazed at her gentle words.

He then went to the palace of the Tiger Prince, and began to cry, "Bangles to sell! Who wants bangles?" The false Princess called to him to come in, and as he was fitting the bangles on her wrists her baby cried, and she cursed him as low-born mothers are wont to curse their children. The bangle-merchant reproved her, and said, "Why do you curse your child as the low-born use to do, and you a Princess? But lately I saw in the under-world a lady who soothed her child when he cried, and sang thus to him:

"My darling! my princeling! the tiger's own son,  
No garland was needed to make thee a man,  
O hush thee, the old man will do thee no harm  
While he fits pretty bangles on mother's soft arm."

The Tiger Prince was close by and heard his words. Then he bethought himself of his tiger-birth, and of his wife and the garland; and when the bangle-merchant left the pretended wife's room he called him and said, "Lead me to the lady of whom you just now spoke."

So they went to the well, and the merchant caused the Prince to put two strings of bangles round his neck that he might look like a brother bangle-seller; and descending the steps of the well he called, "Bangles to sell! who needs bangles?" The lady called

<sup>1</sup> The well was what is called a *biddi*, with long flights of steps down to the water.

<sup>2</sup> "Puli kaḍupunā puttina bhupati kumārā,  
Kasinda puvuluku andā kuḍan puttina kunda kumārā,  
Rāvayyā Vyankayyā vankulu tonḍuk kundam."

"King's son, tiger-begotten,  
Born without touching the *Kasinda*-flowers, my darling child,  
Come, father Vyankayya, let us put zigzag bangles on our wrists."

him, and the child cried, and she hushed him by singing to him as before. Instantly Puli Rája rose from his seat and took hold of the lady's hand and asked her how she came to be there, and she told him how her cousin had plotted against her life, and how the snake had befriended her.

Then the twelve-headed snake<sup>1</sup> came up, and the Princess said to him, "Your son-in-law is come, father!" So the Tiger Prince asked his leave to take his wife home. "That cannot be," said the snake; "my wife will soon be delivered, and it is my daughter, your wife, who must name the young ones. Afterwards I will gladly send her to you." So by-and-by the snake's wife gave birth to a lot of little snakes, and on a fortunate day the Princess named them, and the biggest she called by one fine name, the next by another, and so on; but the smallest she called Chinna Nagannah, "he is that is short by a head."

When the little snake heard his name he was angry, for he thought the Princess mocked him, and he muttered to himself, "When my brother-in-law the Tiger Prince takes her home by-and-by, I will bite her." So he hid in a melon, and came back with them to the palace. And when they got there the Tiger Prince hastened to his father to arrange for the execution of the false Princess. Then the snake said to himself, "My sister will go to the bath, and then I will bite her." And when she had bathed, he said to himself, "I will let her eat, and wash her hands, then I will bite her." But when she had eaten and washed, he said, "Let her suckle her child first, and then I will bite her."

Meanwhile the Tiger Prince returned home and began to play at chess with the Princess. By-and-by he said, "I have won," and she said, "No! I have won; I swear it by the head of our child Chinna Nagannah!" So the snake knew she had meant no scorn to him when she gave him the same name as that of her own son. So he came out of the melon and confessed his designs; and the Princess was rejoiced at his escape and feasted him royally, and he returned to the under-world.

So the Tiger Prince and the Princess lived happily ever after; and by-and-by the old King yielded his throne to his son, and the reign of Puli Rája was long, happy, and prosperous.

<sup>1</sup> Some of the Indian gods are represented by a snake with many hoods, but the epithet above is probably an Oriental exaggeration only.



## CORRESPONDENCE.

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### HISTORY, TRADITION, AND HISTORIC MYTH.

(Vol. xii., p. 467.)

I MUST have succeeded singularly well in darkening my meaning when my friend Mr. Rouse could read into my letter the belief "that all traditions should be discarded as worthless." To a life-long defender of the value of tradition such an accusation is, to say the least, surprising. But I am reassured by noticing that in one respect at least Mr. Rouse has completely misapprehended my argument. I was urging, it may be recollected, that Professor Ridgeway before making the large use he did of certain Greek traditions should, as an indispensable preliminary, have examined them critically. To drive home the plea that as there is faggot and faggot, so there is tradition and tradition, I instanced one famous set of traditions of which we know the origin and history, and which we know to be baseless. Such an instance, I argued, should make us cautious in dealing with traditions of which we do *not* know the origin and history. Mr. Rouse tells me that my examples are "not parallel to the Greek tradition." Of course they are not. If they were there would have been no necessity for my adducing them; they were not adduced as parallels, but to enforce the claim for a particular critical method.

As an expert in Greek literature as well as in Greek archaeology, Professor Ridgeway can only be judged by experts. I should not be presumptuous enough to attempt such a judgment. But I cannot help noticing that experts in Greek literature (*e.g.* Mr. Monro in his recently published edition of the *Odyssey*) make precisely the same kind of objections to his use of certain Greek traditions as had immediately suggested themselves to me; and that an expert in Greek archaeology like Mr. Myres, (*see* his



lengthy notice in the *Classical Review*, vol. xvi., No. 1), brings forward numerous and strongly-urged objections against his interpretation of the archaeological evidence involved. And I cannot refrain from commenting upon Mr. Rouse's statement that "Professor Ridgeway deduces his theory from archaeological and ethnological evidence, and then points to the remarkable fact that the traditions agree in the main with the evidence." Undoubtedly Professor Ridgeway believes that this is so, and undoubtedly Mr. Rouse is led by his brilliant and ingenious argumentation to believe so likewise. But would it not be nearer the mark to say that as a rule Professor Ridgeway's interpretation of the traditions agrees with his interpretation of the archaeological evidence? and is it not the case that this agreement is produced by entirely ignoring other traditions? I have no doubt Professor Ridgeway has good reasons for so doing; but as a reader desirous of forming an opinion upon his hypothesis, I want to know those reasons. I repeat my criticism, a criticism, be it noted, of principle and method: throughout the book the implicit criterion of the validity of a tradition is whether or no it lends support to the interpretation of certain archaeological facts. I hold that that is not sufficient.

Mr. Rouse makes a couple of statements which induce me to return to the illustration, the significance of which I unhappily failed to make clear to him. "Genealogical legends," he says, "were of supreme importance to the Greeks." Granted, but certainly not more so than to the Celts of Britain and Ireland. Even when we first meet with Greek society, it had passed out of and beyond that archaic tribal organisation which is revealed to us by the native laws of the Irish Goidels and the Welsh Brythons. Numberless traces of it survive no doubt; amongst them the importance of the "genealogical legend." But status as determined by the family and tribal genealogists was, if I mistake not, of less importance as a still active legal factor to the Greek of 800 B.C. than to the Irish or Welsh tribesman of 800 A.D. The Celts had thus every reason for keeping their genealogies with as much care as, in the absence of an elaborate system of written record, they probably could be kept. As a matter of fact, when we can test the immense mass of extant Irish and Welsh genealogical material it is found to be of surprising accuracy. And yet (this is my point), the paramount importance of accurate genealogies and the exist-

ence of a highly-favoured and well-remunerated class of professional genealogists, did not prevent the introduction and diffusion of alien traditions about the early history of the race; traditions which, as I have said, we know to be absolutely baseless. If the genealogically-minded Celts admitted, and ultimately came firmly to believe in, an alien and baseless theory of racial origins, the Greeks may have done the same.

But in another and a more positive way Celtic tradition illuminates the problems which the investigator of Greek traditions has to solve. In the latter case we have a great body of heroic legend standing, apparently, in some relation to a series of local and tribal traditions. In Celtdom also we have great bodies of heroic legend; in Wales the Arthur cycle, in Ireland the two great cycles of Cuchulainn and Finn. Now in all these three cases the heroic legend stands outside of, and disconnected from, the main stream of tribal genealogical tradition. So much is this the case in Ireland, that the Four Masters, the last and greatest representatives of the official-historian class, barely allude to the great Cuchulainn cycle which dominates all Irish mediæval literature, although (significant fact!) they fully set forth the alien, baseless tradition of Irish origins invented in the early Middle Ages. In Wales, Cunedda, a *nominis umbra* so far as poet and storyteller are concerned, is the source to which the chieftain traces his descent, not that Arthur with whose fame the world is filled. I cannot but think that these facts may be of some significance to students of the Homeric problem.

Mr. Rouse further remarks that "the conditions (of tradition) are different in a world which has been accustomed to the common use of writing for two thousand years; and in the world of two thousand years B.C., when writing was known indeed, but was certainly not common." Here the question, which is precisely whether the Greek traditions relied upon by Professor Ridgeway do go back "two thousand years B.C.," is entirely begged; not to speak of the fact that many of them cannot *ex hypothesi* refer to a period anterior to 1400 B.C. What, however, I would ask, is, whether there is really any such essential difference, depending upon difference of conditions, between tradition in the Middle Ages, especially in the more barbaric portions of Europe, and tradition in the world of pre-fifth century Greece? Greek traditions, when we seek their source, prove not infrequently to be reported by Pausanias and



even later writers; if we further question *their* sources, we find ourselves in contact with local traditional records kept chiefly by the priestly class. In Greece, as in mediæval Europe or ancient Egypt, the priest was the chief recorder of past events. Next to the priests, we have the families, hereditary as a rule, of tribal minstrels and genealogists, generally attached to the chieftain, the head of the tribe. In what may be called non-barbaric mediæval Europe, that portion of Europe which was specially influenced by Christian-Classic culture, the importance of this last class was greatly diminished, whilst that of the priestly class was enhanced in a corresponding degree. In barbaric Europe on the other hand, (Celtdom and Northern Teutondom) the reverse process may be observed; the Christian priest fights shy of the pre-Christian traditions, and the part played by the minstrel-genealogist is increased; a state of things which has a natural tendency to magnify the romantic, and restrict the record element in the traditions. But differing from each other as did the two divisions of mediæval Europe, and differing as both did in the respect indicated from pre-fifth century Greece, I cannot see that as regards the practice of writing there was any vital difference in the conditions under which the three sets of tradition have been handed down to us.

I had hoped that some notice would be taken of my request for information about, or discussion of, "historic myth." I would again ask to be referred to any well-vouched example of historic myth; of myth, that is, summing up concretely the actual historical relations of groups of men in the form of stories about individual men and women. The historico-mythopœic process is still at work in a rudimentary form, and results in such personifications as John Bull, Uncle Sam, *der deutsche Michel*. Did it ever go any further? *A priori*, there is no reason why it should not have gone further. But did it go further when the mythopœic function was still fully active among all races, the advanced as well as the backward? or does it now go further among those backward races with whom alone the function is still active? I may say that I do not wish to be referred to the Romulus and Remus story, to that of the Hebrew Exodus, or to such modern examples as *Dame Europa's School*.

ALFRED NUTT.

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## LAME GODS.

(Vol. ix., p. 295.)

In Mr. Hartland's article on "The High Gods of Australia" (*Folk-Lore*, December, 1898), the following passage occurs: "The name of Daramulun is a secret known only to the Murring tribes and their congeners. It is said to mean *leg-on-one-side*, or *lame*, probably from a personal peculiarity, like Tsuni||goam among the Hottentots."

Whether a personal peculiarity can be the occasion of these recurring epithets is a point of doubt, to say the least. Tsuni||goam is said to mean, literally, *wounded knee*. This is precisely the attribute of the Finnish divine hero Wäinämöinen, who, it was said, was building a boat when he wounded his knee with his own hatchet. He was thereafter appealed to for healing, like Tsuni||goam or Wounded Knee.

Lame gods are, in fact, not infrequent in mythologies. It is hardly necessary to remind readers of Hephaistos, the Fire-god of the Greeks, who was cast forth from heaven by the Thunderer and lamed by the fall, and who thenceforth worked as a smith in the nether regions. But I would draw special attention to a curious wood-cut in Mrs. Nuttall's recent study of ancient Mexican religion.<sup>1</sup> It reproduces a Mexican drawing representing a divine figure on one leg, the foot of which is held in a fire-drill. The other leg stands free, so that "the only action possible is that of hobbling on one foot in a circle." Here we have a pictured *Leg-on-one-side*. This divinity, the chief god Tezcatlipoca, is "usually represented with one foot." When shown walking, one foot planted and the other following, he is within a circle of carefully-delineated footsteps. His foot is said to have been bitten off by an alligator (*cf.* the Fenris wolf and the god Tyr in Scandinavian mythology); and "the broken end of the leg-bone is commonly depicted with its hollowness accentuated, and puffs of air or breath issuing from it." It was "in descending to the water" that the catastrophe occurred.

<sup>1</sup> Zelia Nuttall, "The Fundamental Principles of Old and New World Civilisations:" *Arch. and Ethnol. Papers of the Peabody Museum* (Harvard), vol. ii. (1901), p. 9; fig. 1, p. 10, and fig. 59, p. 279.

The fire-drill or flint-stone was the symbol of the North in Mexican usage, because the polar point, there and in many regions, was regarded as the primary fire-stone; the central hearth where was perpetually born the divine spirit animating all created forms.

LOUISE KENNEDY.

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FIRE-WALKING IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

(Vol. xii., p. 446.)

In the recently issued *Bulletin* (vol. iv., No. 1, 1901, p. 55) of the *Madras Government Museum*, Mr. E. Thurston, director of the Museum, reprints from the *Madras Mail* (no date given) a full account of a ceremony which took place recently at St. Thomas' Mount, near the city of Madras. The following is a summary of all the essential features. Fire-walking has been observed as an annual festival at Allandur, near St. Thomas' Mount, for more than half a century, and always in connection with the local temple of Draupati, the heroine of the Mahabharata. Draupati successfully passed through the ordeal of walking through fire in order to prove her chastity, and ordained that whoever, placing implicit faith in her powers, should undertake to walk over fire, should get rid of any maladies he might be subject to, and attain all objects of his desire. In Southern India anybody and everybody, with the exception of Pariahs and others occupying a similar status in Hindu society, takes part in the fire-walking ceremony, provided that he or she has any vow to fulfil. The vow-takers are previously purified. First the temple servant walked with measured steps and quite calmly on a platform upon which the fire had been evenly spread to a depth of a few inches, and the space thus covered, about 20 feet square, was ablaze with burning charcoal and embers. The other devotees then rushed in a body up on to the platform and walked over the glowing cinders to the other side, where they cooled their feet in a puddle of water (the *pal-kuli* or milk pit). A boy of about eight years old walked over the fire, while a still smaller child was hurried over, hanging on to the hand of its father.



The anonymous writer interviewed a few of those who took part in the ceremony as to whether they felt any pain or whether they protected their feet by rubbing them with the juice of plants. (Mr. H. Beauchamp, editor of the *Madras Mail*, says "the most common explanation of the immunity from burning is that a decoction of the *Aloe indica* is used"; he gives an account of this process.) This suggestion was received with resentment and considered profane. One young man asked in astonishment what greater protection could be needed than that of the goddess, in whose saving power he had the greatest faith. He explained that the majority of the performers, at the time of the actual fire-walking, are beside themselves with religious fervour and feel absolutely no burning sensations while crossing the fire, and all the after effects amount but to a feeling similar to that caused by being pricked with a pin. Any mishap is attributed by the devotees to their own frailties, rather than to any want of a saving power in the goddess. The author states that he is "entirely satisfied that this fire-walking is no fraud perpetrated by professional people."

Mr. Thurston also quotes Mr. H. J. Stokes, *Indian Antiquary*, ii., 1873, for the Tanjore district, the Abbé Dubois for Malabar, and the records of the Madras Government (1854), for other cases in Madras, Ganjam, North Arcot, Salem, Tinnevely, Gódvári, Nellore, and Kistna, but these do not give any new facts of importance. It is worth noting, however, that the ceremonial is (or was) not confined to the Hindu community. A reference is made to a paper by Mr. M. J. Walhouse, in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1878, for analogous customs in other lands.

A. C. HADDON.

#### TREE WORSHIP.

(Vol. xii., p. 455.)

I venture to suggest that this curious case—a collective hallucination, by night, of the Madonna in an oak-tree—is neither one of "tree-worship" nor of worship of "wood-spirits." In the Dor-



dogne, in the eighties of the last (nineteenth) century, the French peasants used to gaze for, and some used to "see," the Madonna in a dark hole in a wall, an ordinary field wall. M. Marillier communicated a paper on the subject to the *Proceedings* of the Society for Psychical Research. Perhaps nobody will call this "stone-worship"? I give an analogous case. Last autumn a friend of mine, a scientifically-trained man, having heard of "crystal-gazing," made several experiments. To prevent the existence of reflections in glass or water he took a common table glass water-jug, surrounded it with dark cloth, covered his own head with a cloth, and gazed down into the neck of the jug, which thus became a perfectly dark funnel, answering to the dark hole in the wall in the Dordogne. He found that the funnel became full of brilliant light, in which he viewed pictures of people and landscapes. I was present at this experiment, and tried the funnel, which was quite black. He then tried the common glass ball in the usual way, with similar results. My friend is a young athlete in good training, and has this peculiarity, that he never once has dreamed, as far as his conscious memory goes. I therefore submit that both the hole in the wall and the dark nocturnal oak are mere gazing points, like the dark funnel, and that religious suggestibility did the rest. The Knock case in Ireland is really more curious; here the visions of saints and the bright lights were witnessed by the people of Knock both by day and at night, on the outside wall of the parish church (Catholic). Wood-spirits and tree-worship are not in question, I think.

A. LANG.

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JINGLE SUNG AT CASTLETON.

(Vol. xii., p. 421.)

A similar jingle was not long since repeated to my father here in Kirton-in-Lindsey. G. W., a man of North Lincolnshire birth and descent, asked him if he had ever heard :

" You don't know, nor I don't know,  
What fun we had at Grantham ;  
A roasted pig, a salted cat,  
A pudding in a lantern."

In connection with the name "frumity-flowers" for cuckoo-flowers, can frumity formerly have been a festival dish on Garland Day? In Lincolnshire, the proper seasons for eating it are Yuletide and sheep-shearing.

MABEL PEACOCK.

About 1820 or 1830, an old man, a barber in Leeds, used to sing to an air something like "Pease upon a Trencher" (*i.e.* T. Moore's "The time I've lost in wooing") the following:

"Pudding in a lanthorn,  
Pudding in a lanthorn,  
Cheese and bread in a linen beg (bag),  
And pudding in a lanthorn."

FRANK KIDSON.

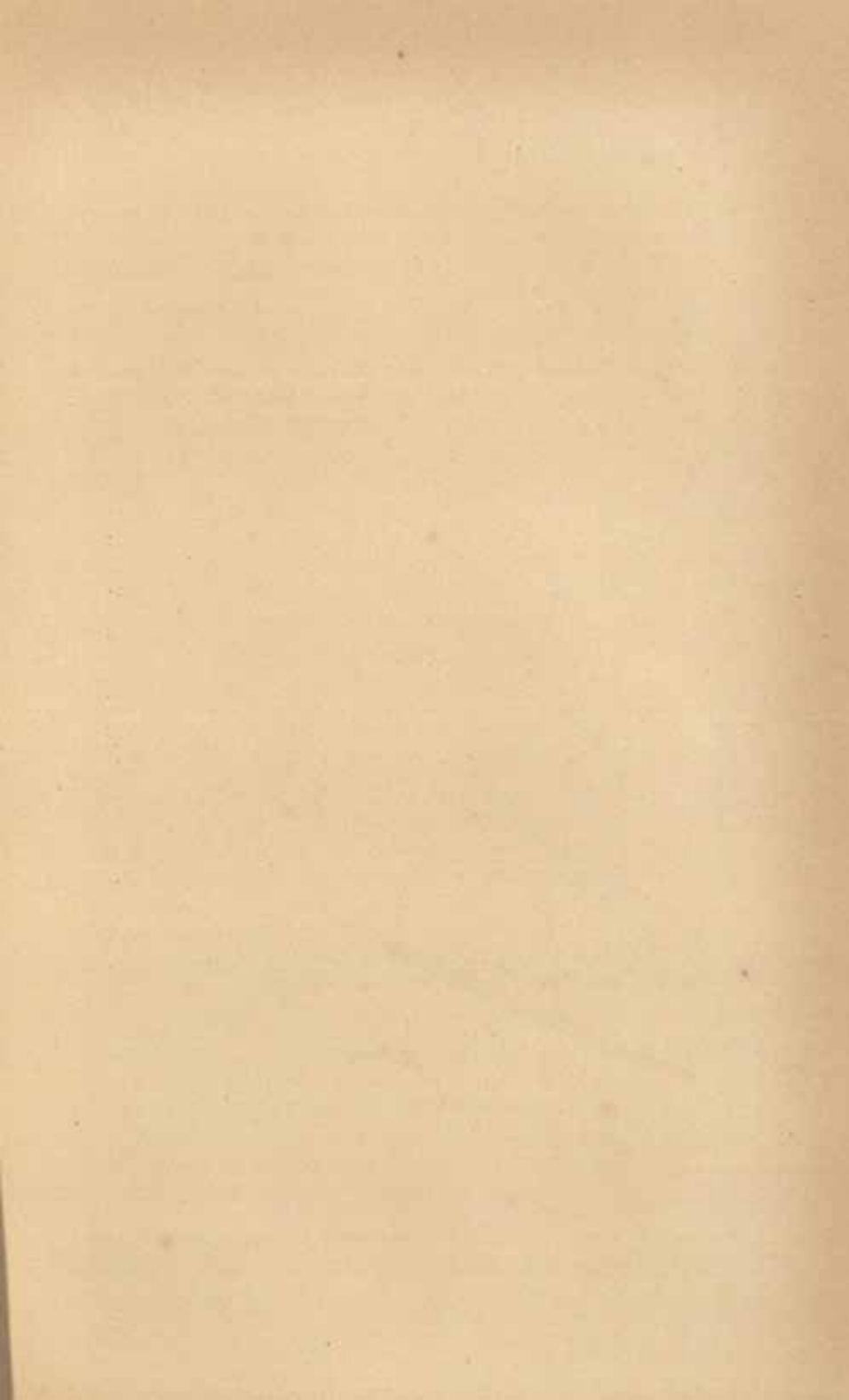
#### A WRITTEN CHARM.

(*Supra*, p. 2, and Plate I.)

The parchment charm exhibited on my behalf was sent to me by the Editor of the *Chemist and Druggist*, who had received it with others like it from a firm of druggists at Bradford, to whom they were brought by a customer who had recently found them in "an old hall" in the neighbourhood, and supposed them to be old medical prescriptions. I found them to be undoubtedly charms; all were exactly alike, but so far illegible that it was only with great difficulty and by collating the lot that I succeeded in making them out. The words run as follows:

Aon + hora + Cammall + + +  
Naadgrass + Dyradgrass + + +  
Arassund + yo + Sigrged + + +  
dayniss + Tetragrammaton E  
Inurmed E Soleysicke + + +  
domend + Ame + dias + hora + + M.  
Fiat.

Mr. Peacock judges it to be written in a legal hand not earlier than the reign of George III. Professor Skeat says: "I do not







think anything can be made of it, or that it ever *did* mean anything. There are two or three like it in the Anglo-Saxon charms in Cockayne's *Book of Leechdoms*, iii., 290. Some of them, though much older, are quite as nonsensical. Here is a bit of one: 'Dev, ev, dev, deev, las, druel, bepax, box, nux, bu.' It ends: 'lera, lira, tota, tanta, uel, tellus, et, ade, uirescit.' It is quite certain that this never made sense. In the one you send *Tetragrammaton* is of course a real word. *Aon* no doubt meant *aon*, and *ame* is for *Amē* = Amen."

*Tetragrammaton* is a well-known conjuration, but some of the words appear to me mere gibberish. Unless, however, some clue to their meaning can be discovered it is useless to conjecture the intended purpose of the charm.

C. C. BELL.

Epworth, Lincolnshire.

[Since the above was in type, some further particulars have reached us. We learn from the *Bradford Daily Telegraph* (15 February, 1902) that the "old hall" where the charm was found was High Fernley Farm, Wyke, near Bradford. The farmer, Mr. Josiah Lightowler, was whitewashing the "mistol" (translated to us as "the lathe," and further explained as "a place where cattle are kept"), when the fancy struck him to remove some square pieces of wood nailed to the rafters. Behind each of these, seven in number, he found a piece of parchment inscribed as above. The "mistol" was originally part of the dwelling-house. A stone over its doorway bears the date 1696 and the initials of the builders, William and Mary Richardson of North Bierley Hall; the parents, we are told, of Dr. Richard Richardson, F.R.S., a noted botanist and antiquary in the early eighteenth century (1663-1741), the friend of Sir Hans Sloane, of Boerhaave, of Ralph Thoresby of Leeds, and other notable men of his day (*Dictionary of National Biography*, s. v.<sup>1</sup>). The first idea of the finders was that the charms were written by him, a point which could easily be ascertained, were it worth while, as many of his letters remain among the Sloane MSS. in the British Museum.

But it appears that there is another old house on the wind-

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Richardson's mother's name is here given as Susanna. The discrepancy is unimportant for our present purpose.

swept hill-top—High Fernley Hall; built in 1678, and once a large mansion, but now much reduced in size. Mr. James Parker, of Great Horton, near Bradford, a writer on local history and tradition, informs us that in the eighteenth century it was occupied (under the Richardsons) by a family named Bevers, of whom two brothers loved the same lady. The rejected suitor, after witnessing her marriage to his brother in Kirkheaton Church, 5th May, 1742, rode home to High Fernley and told the servants that some misfortune was going to happen to him, but that he would "come again" without his head. He then deliberately cut his head off (!); and afterwards kept his word, appearing every night in the guise of a headless horseman. His family quitted the Hall: it stood empty for many years: no one dared even pass by it at night: and at last the portion of the house where the suicide had taken place had to be pulled down and the mansion reduced to its present size, before a tenant could be found for it. With so active and grewsome a ghost for their only neighbour at the Hall, what is more likely than that the inhabitants of the Farm should have resorted to charms to prevent his entrance into their house?

The charms, which were folded and wafered, appear to us to be in a woman's handwriting. Mr. John Hobson Matthews, writing from the Town Hall, Cardiff, to *Notes and Queries* (9th Series, ix., 158), suggests that the words "Naadgrass Dyradgrass" are meant for a well-known Welsh bardic motto "Na ad dy ras, Dyro dy ras," (or, *Duw dy ras*), meaning "Prevent not thy grace, give thy grace," (or, *God Thy grace*). "Mediaeval charms of this kind," he says, "made up of phrases from Latin and Greek liturgies interspersed with Welsh words, were common in the Principality right down to the early part of the nineteenth century."—ED.]

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#### THE VESSEL CUP.

(*Supra*, p. 3.)

An interesting old custom still exists in Whitby, Yorkshire, at this time of the year known as the carrying round of the "vessel cup." This consists of a common little wooden box, probably a sweetmeat-box, containing a doll reposing on a bed of dried stained moss interspersed with sprigs of holly, bits of tinsel, and



models of fruits. This curious object is carried round, carefully covered with a cloth, from house to house by elderly women, and it is considered exceedingly unlucky to dismiss these vessel-cup bearers without a small donation. A few lines, a corruption of a very ancient ditty, are sung, the covering is removed with reverence, and the contents of the sweetmeat-box, a miserable survival of former grandeur, displayed.

A few years ago this was much more religiously observed in the Yorkshire Dales. The box had several coverings, the inner one being of blue satin. The figures represented the Virgin and the Child Christ, the former always in blue with golden stars, the latter with a halo. At the feet rested a lion and lamb, whilst around were displayed fruits and other offerings, no doubt representing the gifts of the Magi.

The very old women who were privileged to carry these and beg, chanted the lines :

" God bless the master of the house,  
The mistress also,  
And all the little children  
Who round the table grow,"

and were generally regarded as witches in their country. Compare the Italian *presepio* and the French *crèche*.

E. LOVETT.

I was acquainted with this custom at Hull, 1850-60. Two or three girls would bring to the house-door a box containing a doll,<sup>1</sup> dressed in blue and set off with tinsel, holly, and holly-berries. A few red apples were also deposited with it. They first sang a few lines of Christmas greeting and then opened the box and asked for money, and became very abusive if refused.

E. W. CLARKE.

[The customs of wassailing and carrying a vessel-cup are noticed in Ellis's *Brand*, i., 1, 454; Henderson, 2nd ed., pp. 64-66, and *Gent. Mag. Library (Popular Superstitions)*, pp. 16, 76. The information given may be summarised as follows. Wassailing, or

<sup>1</sup> Another correspondent, Miss Phyllis Dawson, lately of Swine, near Hull, says, unprompted, "I think there were sometimes two dolls in the box. The words began 'God rest you, merry gentlemen.'"

health-drinking from a bowl or loving-cup, was a usual accompaniment of Christmas feasting, sometimes extended to the orchards and the oxen. The favourite liquor was "lambswool," a mixture of ale, spices, and roasted apples. In many places parties of wassailers went about visiting the neighbouring houses singing their good wishes and carrying a bowl with apples, which the hosts were expected to fill with ale, or money to purchase it. But the custom of carrying a representation of the Madonna seems to have been confined to Northumbria, where the name "vessel-cup" and the apples are the only relics of the wassail-bowl which, one supposes, once accompanied it.—ED.]

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#### YEW WOOD.

Dr. Conventz of Danzig read a paper before Section K of the British Association at Glasgow on "The Past History of the Yew in Great Britain and Ireland." He called attention to the large number of prehistoric and early historic implements made of yew wood in the British Museum and the Science and Art Museum of Dublin. He also showed a so-called *Toll-holz* of yew; this implement, which was used in Germany, consists of a die with signs and letters cut in it, with which cakes are marked, which are then given to mad dogs in order to cure them. In Sweden patterns for printing wall-papers were formerly made of yew; in several countries shuttles are made of this wood; on the Aland Island the may-poles are decorated with yew twigs. Dr. Conventz has also studied the names of uninhabited places (*Flur-namen*) with the assistance of Dr. H. R. Mill and the Rev. C. H. Close. In Ireland there are more than a hundred place-names compounded with "yew;" at some of these places he has found sub-fossil yew below the surface. Dr. Conventz would be glad to have notes of English parallels to the above usages, details of any finds of yew wood or yew implements, and information as to the folklore of wood in England and other countries.

N. W. THOMAS.

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## REVIEWS.

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TRIBAL CUSTOMS IN ANGLO-SAXON LAW. By FREDERIC  
SEEBOHM. Longmans. 1902.

LIKE all Mr. Seebohm's studies, this is mainly economical. It takes us through the maze of continental coinage at the time of the foundation of barbaric states on the ruins of the Roman empire, and it shows the changes, and also the equations which help us to understand those changes among the various Teutonic peoples whose laws were then superseding the Roman law in the government of the new social foundations. All this is very excellent, of course. It is a study which those who have not been able to work up the subject for themselves will welcome in several ways, and it opens the way to a correct understanding of the relationship of the several barbaric codes of law to one another. It occupies more than half Mr. Seebohm's book, and indeed forms the principal portion of his new study.

This seems to suggest that the title chosen by Mr. Seebohm does not altogether convey the true intent and result of his book; and indeed we object to the use of the word *custom* in this respect. Surely at this stage in the study of anthropology custom has assumed a certain definiteness in our vocabulary. Custom properly so called is not law, it is not a body of codified rules, it is not the governing force of any given social group, it is not sanctioned by the state or by the sovereign. And yet the custom which Mr. Seebohm deals with is all this. The point may be a small one, perhaps, but we cannot help thinking it has led to a confusion of thought which has its effect upon Mr. Seebohm's work. Let us take the passage on page 187: "Moreover," says Mr. Seebohm, "it is clear from internal evidence that the laws as we have them are by no means of one single date. They form, in fact, a collection of the customs of the three districts into which Frisia was divided, with modifications and various additions made to the original collections at different times." Or again, at page 337: "Special laws issued at various times by



Saxon kings do not profess to cover the whole ground of existing and well-understood custom. Rather should special laws be regarded as modifications of custom made necessary at different periods by new circumstances. Thus no one set of laws can be expected to give a general view of custom as a whole." The custom Mr. Seebohm is alluding to in these passages and throughout his book is, of course, that body of unwritten law which governs the people as much in tribal society as the codes of written law govern the people in more developed societies. Custom is not the equivalent of unwritten law, and we get a limited view of tribal custom when it is used to connote that important body of tribal rules which, when the state has evolved into some sort of stability, have to be codified as one of the recognised governing forces in the hands of the sovereign power. Indeed, but for this limitation of the term custom, Mr. Seebohm could have found many important illustrations which would have helped his elucidation of tribal conditions—illustrations not appearing in the codified laws, but which nevertheless may more properly be called tribal custom than the usages and rules of tribal society upon which alone he has relied for his evidence.

Mr. Seebohm has taken up this part of the evidence at the wrong end of his important studies. In the last chapter of his new book he labours to fit in its results with the results of his former studies, *The English Village Community* and *The Tribal System in Wales*. Our readers will remember that the former of these two brilliant essays was published just when students were beginning to feel the want of details wherewith to fill up the lacunæ left by Sir Henry Maine's remarkable generalisations. It seemed to be so perfectly logical, and so well-reasoned on a basis of firm fact, that there was little hope for those who had not till then subscribed to the doctrine that Roman civilisation in Britain was the source of almost all our early economic and social life. The appearance a little later of Professor Vinogradoff's *Villeinage in England*, Mr. Andrews' *Old English Manor*, and some other studies, brought back the subject to the higher level of comparative jurisprudence; but not, we think, completely, because Mr. Seebohm's weighty conclusions still stood in the way. Now, however, Mr. Seebohm himself appears in the field against his earlier work. It is true that he strives to point out where this last study confirms his earlier, but he leaves out of account the points where it not

only does not confirm it, but is actually in opposition to it. We would venture to say that had Mr. Seebohm begun his valuable work with the present volume, he would not have written his first work on the lines we know so well. It would have been impossible. The tribe with all its forces, its influences, and its principles was not present to him when he studied the survivals of the English village community. The only great economic and political force to which he could appeal was that of the Roman empire; and to this he went for the foundations of the English village system. But the village system is but a phase of the tribal system. It is as impossible to prove as it is impossible to conceive the village system with its limited economical conditions fitting into the Roman political system with its fully developed economical conditions. At the best there may be said to have been an apparent harmony with some features of the Roman system at the very fringes of the empire; but this is not enough to have founded a whole system such as is presented to view in Britain. It is possible, on the other hand, to trace many of the stages in the development from tribe to village, that is, in other words, from the tribe as an unstable group to the tribe as a settled community—from the Teutonic tribe to the Teutonic state; just as it is possible even now to perceive the main outline of the development from the Roman tribe to the Roman state.

This then appears to us to be the chief value of Mr. Seebohm's new study. It restores to view the tribe in the English system; and that, too, at the hands of the same scholar who in earlier days could not get back to the tribe in his progress from the known facts to the unknown ancestors of those facts.

Mr. Seebohm fixes his attention almost entirely upon the wergild of early tribal society—Celtic and Teutonic. With a masterly hand he points out how this system of payment for crime against an individual penetrated to the recognised members of that individual's kin, and that in this recognised kinship is to be found the Celtic and Teutonic tribe. In particular the distinction, which is best illustrated in *Beowulf*, between the crime of killing a non-tribesman and the crime of killing a fellow-tribesman, is a very important illustration of the tribal system. The former case exposes the homicide's kin to the payment of the wergild, reckoned originally in cattle, and allows the kin of the dead man to receive the wergild, both payment and receipt



being made upon rules which reckon within the kinship all who are of the tribe. The latter case is an unspeakable crime. There is no kin to compensate and so no compensation is possible. The criminal goes forth from his tribe a tribeless man, and henceforth neither the property of the tribe nor its pains and penalties have anything to do with him. Another phase of the subject which is most ably dealt with is the aspect which tribal law assumes when it is in direct contact with the Roman state. Tribal law does not succumb, but it applies only to peoples who are living in tribal society. Roman law does not succumb, but it applies only to its own people; and thus both systems are seen to flourish side by side. Of course they begin to react on each other, and equally of course the tribal laws have many Roman conceptions worked into them. In the hands of so acute an observer as Mr. Seebohm this is a fruitful source of information, and he strips the tribal laws of their Roman accretions only to show the places whereon was formerly written the original tribal law and the words, or at least the principles, of the original.

There are a few graphic instances of tribal customs to which Mr. Seebohm alludes, which will be particularly interesting to folklorists. The extra penalty if the blood reaches the ground is most striking, as although the condition may be a means of determining the extent of the injury, in terms it is that of primitive thought, and doubtless illustrative of one of the oldest parts of tribal law. All the rules for getting rid of tribal duties are particularly interesting. They are all primitive and not Roman in character; they are therefore a concession of the tribe to a tribesman and not a pressure of Roman law upon tribal law. House-rites, the influence of sonship, the sanctity of the hearth, the wife's knowledge of pagan rites, and many such incidental lights upon tribal life are mentioned here and there, and perhaps deserve more investigation.

This is Mr. Seebohm's third study of early English and Celtic life. We hope he will proceed with the work. It is so thorough, that even if some of us are inclined to think it is limited none would willingly do without it. It is not often that a scholar so well equipped will devote himself to thorough investigation of a small section of a great subject. When he does so our homage should go out to him whole-heartedly, for his work not only paves the way to such larger fields of study as others may indulge in, but it sets up many of the warning signals which are



so necessary when travelling into the depths of the unknown past. Early man was a product of his own time, not of ours. To understand him and his ways we must project ourselves as much as possible into his surroundings, both physical and psychological. Studies such as Mr. Seebohm has given us enable us to do this far more effectually than most others of the same kind, and we can think of no better introduction to the proper conception of early Celtic and Teutonic Britain than the mass of minute details which Mr. Seebohm has transformed into brilliant flashes of light.

G. LAURENCE GOMME.

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HEAD-HUNTERS, BLACK, WHITE, AND BROWN. By ALFRED C. HADDON. Illustrated. Methuen and Co. 1902. 15s.

THE first knowledge which Professor Haddon gained of the people of Torres Straits was in 1888, in the course of an expedition which had for its primary object the study of the coral-reef and marine zoology of the district. His incomplete examination of the races occupying these islands supplied the materials for an interesting contribution to the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* and to *Folklore*, and suggested a more complete survey of this region from the anthropological side, which was carried out in 1898-9 under the auspices of the University of Cambridge. The present volume is an introductory and popular sketch of the results of this survey, the detailed records of which are in course of publication.

The main interest of this inquiry lies in the fact that it was largely devoted to the field of experimental psychology. The leader of the expedition and his colleagues were provided with a complete set of ingenious apparatus designed to record observations on questions such as the visual acuity, colour-blindness, estimation of time, acuteness of hearing and smelling, sensibility to pain, and so forth. This is a field of investigation which in the case of races which we conventionally class as savage is almost unworked soil, and the value of such an inquiry conducted by competent scientific men employing the most advanced methods is sufficiently obvious. But besides what may be called the physical questions to which special attention was devoted, the volume before us everywhere shows the zeal with which ethno-

graphy, the social condition of these races, their customs and superstitions, folklore, and mythology came under observation.

The chief centre of operations was the Murray Islands, a most inaccessible group, where social life must, until the arrival of Christian missionaries, have developed with little interference from outside. A number of journeys were also made to the neighbouring islands of the Archipelago and the adjoining shores of New Guinea, Borneo, and Queensland. It is pleasant to note that the expedition received cordial assistance both from the Government officials and members of the missionary communities, among whom the late lamented Dr. Chalmers held a leading place. It is ample proof of the tact and ability which marked the conduct of the expedition that the physical examination of these savage or semi-savage races, as well as the inquiry into customs which have now, under the influence of Christian teaching, become almost obsolete, was not only carried out without any friction, but produced the most friendly relations between the explorers and the natives.

The psychological experiments on the whole confirm the observations of other students of savage races. Their visual acuity is little superior to that of normal Europeans, but it is better directed, and hence results the belief in the acuteness of savage eyesight which has been so often noticed. Short-sightedness is, as might have been expected, practically unknown; "there were definite names for red, less definite for yellow, and still less so for green, while a definite name for blue was either absent or borrowed from English." In hearing there was no superiority over normal Europeans; but here the difficulty of the investigation at Murray Island was increased by the noise of the sea and the rustle of the coco palms.

Paganism in these islands is in a state of active decay, due partly to the rapid conversion of the people to a form of Christianity, but perhaps more to economic changes resulting from extended trade. It is fortunate that the expedition was undertaken while there were still many people living who were familiar with the older state of things and willing to impart their knowledge to sympathetic observers.

Much that is interesting is said about totemism. The case of the dugong-men and turtle-men of Mabuiag seems (as Professor Haddon has already told us, *Folk-Lore*, xii., 230) to corroborate



the hypothesis of Dr. Frazer and Professor Baldwin Spencer that totemism is mainly an economic custom intended to preserve or increase, by means of magical rites, particular food-stuffs or objects of general utility to the community. But besides this, by the protection afforded to their fellows by the members of a totem-clan, it exercises an ameliorating influence in social intercourse and tends to minimise tribal antagonism. On the strength of his vaccination-marks Professor Haddon was himself recognised to be a member of the fraternity. A point perhaps hitherto unrecorded in the case of a living people is that "it seems as if it may be possible to trace some stages at least between pure totemism on the one hand and hero-worship on the other, and a hero-worship that is suspiciously like the origin of a god."

Another valuable part of the book is the elaborate account of puberty rites and the reconstruction from native evidence, with careful drawings, of the sacred enclosures in which these rites were performed. We hear much, of course, of the bull-roarer, and Professor Haddon seems to be very close to Dr. Frazer's identification of its primary purpose, to promote fertility.

Sorcery here, as elsewhere, is almost a speciality of the degraded races which preceded their present native rulers. We have accounts of rain-charming and disease-exorcism; of the curious divination from stones arranged on a sacred site known as a *Zogo*; of the method of asking advice from the skulls of deceased relatives, and the mode of divination from the appearance of a pig's liver, the last being commonly resorted to when a marriage is being arranged. Full details are given of marriage rites, the principle underlying many of them indicating a transition from the matriarchal to the patriarchal system. Children's games were carefully investigated, and in particular the string-tricks, like our "Cats' Cradle," at which they are experts. To some of these little songs are sung, which seem to be relics of some magical formulæ, a fact which will corroborate some of Mrs. Gomme's speculations on English games.

These few examples from the preliminary record of the expedition will serve but to whet the appetite of anthropologists for the full record of an enterprise happily conceived and carried to a successful issue.

W. CROOKE.



INDISCHE INVLOEDEN OP OUDE CHRISTELIJKE VERHALEN. By  
GUSTAAF ADOLF VAN DEN BERGH VAN EYSINGA. Leiden,  
E. J. Brill. 1901.

THE question of Indian influences on early Christian narratives is of much importance to folklore students in reference to the general problem of transmission of folktales. To us, the consideration of the question seems an odd subject for a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Divinity. Nor could it be treated under existing conditions in England with freedom from bias or without the strongest suspicion of the advocacy of a foregone conclusion. In Holland, however, people think differently. There it is possible, as this essay shows, for a student of divinity to investigate scientifically, and to set forth without fear the results of his inquiries into the materials of the canonical and apocryphal Gospels, even though his conclusions may seriously qualify the evidential value of those documents.

Dr. van Eysinga begins by a criticism of his predecessors in the same field. Students of Buddhism have frequently noticed coincidences between the legend of Buddha and the narratives of the Gospels, canonical and apocryphal. The latest and most systematic attempts to prove a connection are by Professor Seydel of Leipzig. They are embodied in his *Das Evangelium Jesu in seinen Verhältnissen zu Buddha-Sage und Buddha-Lehre* (1882), and *Die Buddha-Legende und das Leben Jesu nach den Evangelien* (1897). Dr. van Eysinga has examined afresh the passages alleged by Seydel and other scholars as proofs of Buddhist influence, together with other parallels. Each parallel is analysed in detail. The textual resemblances between the Christian and Buddhist writings are noted, the resemblances of incident and circumstance are discussed; and where the story as told in the Gospels appears inconsistent or needing explanation, the author turns to the Buddhist legends to seek for light.

He then considers the intercourse between India and the West in pre-Christian and early Christian times, both by sea and land. Intercourse there certainly was before the time of Alexander the Great. But the invasion of India by that conqueror and the establishment of a Greek realm in the Panjâb led to much coming and going, increased trade and exchange of ideas between the East and the West. The author traces the various routes, and he

refers to the influence of Greece on Indian art, and the traces of Indian influence on Greek mythology and literature, especially on the cycles of Dionysos and Alexander and the development of fables. Coming down to a later period, he shows unquestionable Buddhistic material in Christian legends, such as the *Περίοδοι Θωμᾶ*, a legendary account of the Apostle St. Thomas, and the *Barlaam and Joasaph*. He argues that Indian (mainly Buddhist) influence on the apocryphal Gospels is certain, and that this fact renders probable some Indian influence on the canonical Gospels. Alexandria was by no means the only focus of speculation and thought in the first two centuries. Antioch, for example, from early times a noted Christian centre, was also a centre of trade, the terminus of one of the great roads to the East. The concourse of East and West in that city must have led to the exchange of ideas and of stories.

When, however, we cast an eye over the parallels accepted by Dr. van Eysinga as exhibiting a correspondence too close to be explainable by anything short of conscious or unconscious borrowing, we find that their total number is but small. They occur chiefly in the earlier part of the life and ministry of Christ; and "it cannot escape our attention," he says, "that the narratives wherein we consider Indian influence probable are precisely such as belong to a Gnostic form of Gospel." I am inclined to doubt whether most of the undoubted coincidences in the apocryphal writings which the author accepts are really of Buddhist origin, though some weight must of course be attached to their number. Of those in the canonical writings (and they are not many) the most probable seems the story of the Temptation, which has always been a difficulty to Christian expositors and apologists, but is certainly in place in the legend of Gautama.

Gnosticism was the product of the clash of Greek philosophy with oriental speculation. If it was mainly through Gnostic channels that Buddhist incidents and conceptions filtered into Christian narratives, and those incidents and conceptions themselves were comparatively few in number, then the importation of Eastern stories and ideas into the West may have been more limited than we are sometimes called on to believe, and the probability is strengthened that the transmission of fable from East to West, which admittedly took place, was mainly a literary process. The subject, however, of the intellectual influence of



India upon the ancient world requires to be dealt with as a whole by some competent scholar. Meanwhile, Dr. van Eysinga's thoughtful and judicious essay and his collection of parallels will be appreciated by all who are interested in the problems of storyology, quite as much as by theologians.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

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NOTES ON THE FOLKLORE OF NORTH STAFFORDSHIRE, CHIEFLY  
COLLECTED AT STONE. By W. WELLS BLADEN.

THESE notes, contributed by Mr. Bladen to the North Staffordshire Field Club, and reprinted from their *Transactions*, are a sample of what may be done by local inquiry to save the rapidly vanishing folklore of the English counties. Naturally they include a good deal that is common to many counties, if not to all England. But they are hardly the less valuable for that, since one of the most important questions to be determined in a country which has been occupied by so many different peoples as ours, is, what are the geographical limits of the different items of belief and practice. As a criterion of race, evidence from folklore is probably to be received with caution, but at all events it will help to show to what extent the folk has been penetrated by the successive cultures.

Mr. Bladen begins his collection with the legend of St. Wulfad and St. Rufin, the scene of whose murder is laid near Stone: but neither he nor Mr. Poole in his *Staffordshire Folklore* (a poor performance reprinted from the *Wolverhampton Chronicle*) gives any authority for the legend, for which I have searched several old chroniclers in vain. I would warn local collectors generally against this too common error. It is a grave omission. And let me further beg them not to speculate on the origins of the customs and superstitions they may find, but to content themselves with simply recording them. Even those who have made the longest and most earnest study of the subject are often led astray on the question of origins: it is no wonder therefore if others err when they derive the throwing of old shoes after a newly-wedded pair from the Mosaic law, or ascribe the practices of All Fools' Day to



reminiscences of the mockery of Christ by the Roman soldiery. I should like to know also what reason there is for believing that the practice of lifting the hat when meeting a funeral was "originally intended to propitiate the evil spirits which may be in attendance."

These, however, are after all minor blemishes. Mr. Bladen's important collection of Counting-out Rhymes, his collection of Singing-games, and his diagrams of Hopscotch as played at Stone (which should be compared with the Danish collection of Dr. Feilberg and the Sicilian collection of Dr. Pitré) give him a substantial claim on our gratitude. It is a pleasure, too, to congratulate him on recording the words of the Guisers' Play as performed at Stone, which differs materially from the version performed at Eccleshall, only six miles away, and recorded by Miss Burne (*Folk-Lore Journal*, iv., 350). This again differs noticeably from that of Newport, nine miles distant. Were a collection made of these plays from all parts of the country we might by collation and careful comparison be able to form some opinion as to their origin and the influences which have modified them at various times and places.

The speedy growth of tradition is illustrated by Mr. Bladen's note on the circumstances attending the death of Mr. Stanier of Peplow; and the transference of custom from place to place by his statement that notice of Mothering Sunday is given out on the previous Sunday in Eccleshall Church, which Miss Burne informs me is a recent innovation, dating only from the incumbency of the present vicar, who comes from South Staffordshire, where great store is set by Mothering Sunday. These may seem small points, but they touch great questions.

In fact, Mr. Bladen's success in collecting folklore in a very limited area should act as a stimulus to those members of our Society who, living in places as yet little touched by the spirit of the age, nevertheless tell us they would fain help us, but they never hear of anything likely to be of use!

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

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CHINESE MOTHER GOOSE RHYMES, translated and illustrated by  
ISAAC TAYLOR HEADLAND, of Peking University. Fleming  
H. Revell Co., New York, Chicago, Toronto.

PROFESSOR HEADLAND in his preface to this interesting collection of rhymes says, "There are probably more nursery rhymes in China than can be found in England and America. We have in our possession more than six hundred, collected for the most part in two out of the eighteen provinces, and we have no reason to believe that we have succeeded in getting any large proportion of what those two provinces contain." Professor Headland in this book has made no attempt at literary style in translating the rhymes. His desire has been to make a translation which is fairly true to the original, and one which will please English-speaking children. He gives in each case the Chinese original.

Many of the rhymes have features in common with our own nursery rhymes. Many might be sung to and by children of almost any nationality; in fact, were it not for the illustrations of Chinese children and adults, and Chinese versions of the rhymes, it would be difficult to determine from whence they were collected. There are some which show local colour. The Wedding Feast, the Wedding, the Pagoda must refer to Chinese customs, but the majority would appeal to all children. Some of the rhymes, judging from the illustrations, must be sung to actions, and remind us of some of our own nursery games. We recognise "Turning the Mill," "Buying a Lock," "Forcing the City Gates," as old friends; also "The Flower-seller" and "Making a Flower-pot." It would be interesting to know the directions for playing these, if they are regarded as games. "Blind-man's Buff" is here, and also a version of "This little pig went to market." The rhyme when counting a Chinese child's toes is:

This little cow eats grass,  
This little cow eats hay,  
This little cow drinks water,  
This little cow runs away,  
This little cow does nothing but just lie down all day;  
We'll whip her.



Another, said when blowing a thistle-seed in the air :

Thistle seed, thistle seed, fly away, fly,  
The hair on your body will take you up high;  
Let the wind whirl you around and around,  
You'll not hurt yourself when you fall to the ground.

Apparently there is here no trace of the thistle-seed being blown for divination purposes ; this rhyme is very similar to the one said by English children to the dandelion-seeds. There are also "Pat a cake" rhymes, and cumulative rhymes, and many are humorous. The illustrations from photographs of Chinese children at play have been prepared purposely for the book, and are of special interest. Some are particularly pretty, and illustrate for children some Chinese customs and costumes.

It may perhaps be permissible here to draw attention to some articles, by Professor Headland, in *The Home Magazine* of New York, published in February, 1901, on "The Games of Chinese Children." In this article Professor Headland describes the visit of Dr. Luther Gulick to him at Peking. Dr. Gulick wished for information regarding the play-life of children of the East, in order to discover what relation exists between the games of oriental and those of occidental children, and thus to learn the effect of play in the mental and physical development as well as the character of children, and through them in the human race as a whole. The result of the calling of the boys together for play was the collection of many games, some so like to some of our own that they might almost have been transplanted from here to Peking. Photographs of these are given. Professor Headland notices in this same article that the games played in Central and South China are different, partly because of climatic conditions, partly because of the character of the people. A large number of the games played there as here are but reproductions of the employment of the children's parents ; farming, carpentry, housekeeping. Near the river or sea, fishing is the favourite game. During the Chinese-Japanese War, children organised battalions and played at war, retreating when the leader reported the Japanese coming in true soldier-fashion.

A. B. GOMME.



## SHORT NOTICES.

*Formelhafte Schlüsse im Volks-Märchen.* By ROBERT PETSCH.  
Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1901.

THE author of this little book has undertaken to consider the closing formulas of the Märchen, as a step towards a complete philosophy of folktales.

He distinguishes two main divisions, the internal and external endings, which he subdivides into two and three classes respectively: (1) the simple close, in which the good are rewarded and the bad punished; (2) the "happy-ever-after" close, which tells us something of the future life of the characters; (3) the recapitulating close, which summarises the main contents and often includes a moral; (4) the formal close, announcing in set terms the close of the story; (5) the personal close, in which the narrator removes the centre of interest to himself. The author's material is drawn from the nations, civilised and savage, of the Old World, and of them mainly from the Teutonic peoples; the preface gives a list of the works, about a hundred in number, which he has consulted.

Dr. Petsch truly remarks that the literature of folktales is too extensive for the single inquirer to cover, but he has given us an examination neither of folktales in general nor of a single national type in particular. His collection or division of the human race does not cover any single known area of the world's surface. Conclusions must either be drawn from the whole mass of Märchen, or the field must be examined bit by bit, and the author should have drawn his limits in such a way as to make the inquiry within them more or less exhaustive. As it is, we have an interesting study of a point hitherto little noticed, but not much addition to our knowledge as the result of it.—N. W. THOMAS.

*Sagen aus dem alten Irland*, übersetzt von R. Thurneysen.  
8vo xii. 152 pp. Berlin: Wiegandt und Grieben.

This volume contains the following stories: Macdatho's Pig; The Fate of the Sons of Uisnech (the L. L. text); The Weakness of the Ulstermen; Bricriu's Feast; The Birth Stories of Cuchulainn and of Conchobor; the Death Stories of Mess-Gegra and of Conchobor; Connla; The Wooing of Etain; Cuchulainn's Sickbed; How Ronan slew his Son; The Wooing of Findabair by Fraech;

The Seafaring of Snegdus and MacRiagla; MacConglinne's Vision. Professor Thurneysen's introduction and notes are, as might be expected from a scholar of his standing, adequate, but one expected more from him. As all the stories have been translated into English or French, his work appeals exclusively to the German reader, who may fairly complain of the Professor's choice of the shorter version of MacConglinne instead of that longer version, the gem of Irish humorous story-telling and the finest example in all literature, outside Rabelais himself, of the Rabelaisian style.—ALFRED NUTT.

*King Horn.* A Middle English Romance, edited from the MSS. by Joseph Hall. Demy 8vo., lvi. 240 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Whilst the interest of this admirably executed edition is mainly linguistic, the student of English romance cannot but be glad to possess a perfectly faithful text, in the three extant versions, of what may be called the earliest *English* romance, and of the much later handling of the subject, *Horn Childe*. The section of Mr. Hall's Introduction which deals with the story, whilst very brief yet successfully vindicates the anteriority of the English poem over the Anglo-Norman *Horn et Rimenhild*, and traces it back ultimately to a saga "based on events which actually occurred in the south-west of England during the English Conquest," and adapting an earlier British tradition "arising out of some temporary success in which the Cornish, aided by the Irish, checked the westward progress of the English." The various features of folklore and romance interest are adequately dealt with in the notes.—ALFRED NUTT.

*Cilibi Moise, Practica si apropourile lui, Vestitul in Teara romaneasca, adunate si aranjate dupa materii si precedate de Biografia lui Cilibi Moise* De M. SCHWARZFELD. Ed. ii. Bucuresti, 1901.

A systematised arrangement of popular saws and aphorisms, mostly the product of a man whose education had been quite neglected, who was unable to write, and who had to dictate to the printer many of these sentences and wise aphorisms. They appeared in yearly small volumes, in an edition of upwards of 10,000 copies, thus enjoying fabulous popularity in Roumania. The folkloristic value of this collection consists in the fact that a large number of these aphorisms have entered the popular mind,

and have now become Roumanian popular proverbs. It is not always easy to trace the immediate source of popular literature. Here we have one.—M. GASTER.

We hear with regret that the issue of our contemporary *Mélusine* will cease at the end of the present volume. M. Gaidoz has lost the assistance of his fellow-worker M. E. Rolland through ill-health, and finds that advancing years make it impossible for him to carry on the publication single-handed. So the oldest purely folklore serial comes to a close.

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#### NOTICE.

The Council of the Folk-Lore Society, acting on the recommendations of the Publications and Bibliography Committees, have decided that the Bibliography of current folklore literature shall in future appear annually instead of quarterly. Books and articles published in 1902 will therefore be catalogued in March, 1903, and no Bibliography will appear in the intervening numbers.



# Folk-Lore.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.

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[No. II.

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WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 26th, 1902.

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. E. W. Brabrook) in the Chair.

THE minutes of the Meeting of December 4th, 1901, were read and confirmed.

The election of Mr. N. M. Broadbent, Mr. Harry Lucas, Mr. W. Wells Bladen, Miss A. M. Steward, Miss B. T. Steward, Miss P. Packe, Mr. Harding King, and Messrs. Gerold and Co. as new members was announced.

The resignations of General Forlong, Sir A. C. Lyall, Mrs. M. C. Balfour, Mr. T. Rudmose Brown, Dr. Todhunter, Mr. Greig, and the Rev. C. Swynnerton were also announced.

On the motion of the President a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. A. R. Wright for his work on the Index of *Folk-Lore*.

Miss Burne exhibited a charm against the Evil Eye from Syria, sent her by Miss Bunbury [*infra*, p. 202].

The Secretary read three notes on Harvest Customs (1) by Mrs. Gomme, (2) by Mr. E. H. Binney, and (3) by the late Mrs. W. H. Jewitt [*infra*, p. 177], upon which the President, Miss Burne, Mr. Gomme, and Mr. Bouverie Pusey offered some observations.

Dr. Gaster read a paper entitled "The Letter of Toledo" [*infra*, p. 115], and in the discussion which followed the President, Mr. Gomme, and Mr. Ordish took part.

The Meeting terminated with a hearty vote of thanks to Dr. Gaster for his paper.

The following books and pamphlets which had been presented to the Society since December 4th, 1901, were laid upon the table, viz.:

*The History and Chronology of the Myth-making Age*, by J. F. Hewitt, presented by the author; *Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, parts 21-30, presented by the German Society; *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde* vol. 5, presented by the Swiss Society; *Bulletin*, vol. iv., No. 2 (*Anthropology*), of the Madras Government Museum, presented by the Government of Madras; *The Journal of the African Society*, No. 2, presented by the Society; *North Queensland Ethnography Bulletins*, Nos. 1, 2, and 3, presented by the Government of Queensland.

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### WEDNESDAY, MARCH 26th, 1902.

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. E. W. Brabrook) in the Chair.

The minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of the Gloucester Public Library as a member of the Society was announced.

The resignations of the Mercantile Library of Philadelphia and Mr. C. B. Balfour were also announced.

Mr. P. Manning read a paper entitled, "Stray Notes on Oxfordshire Folklore," which was illustrated by lantern slides, and exhibited several objects illustrative of his paper.

Miss L. M. Eyre read a paper entitled "Folklore Notes

from St. Briavel's, Gloucestershire," and exhibited an object locally known as "The Gift" in illustration of it [*infra*, p. 174].

Mr. W. W. Skeat read a paper entitled, "Malay Spiritualism" (*infra*, p. 134), which was illustrated by lantern slides.

The Meeting terminated with votes of thanks to the readers of the several papers.

The following books which had been presented to the Society since the last Meeting were laid on the table, viz. :

*The Peabody Museum Papers*, vol. ii., presented by Miss L. Kennedy; *The 18th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, edited by J. W. Powell, presented by the Smithsonian Institution; and *Folktales from the Indus*, by Barlow and McNair, presented by the Authors.

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## THE LETTER OF TOLEDO.

BY M. GASTER, PH.D.

(*Read at Meeting, 26th February, 1902.*)

IN the year 1184 the world was startled by a letter purporting to come from the sages and astrologers of Toledo. It was sent to Pope Clement III. and to other men of weight, informing them of the impending doom. The world was to be destroyed in the year 1186 through wind and storms, drought and famine, pestilence and earthquake. The people were advised to forsake their houses and well-built mansions, and to try and find safety in mountains and caverns, to protect themselves against the storms of sand with which the inhabitants of the sea coasts would be visited; notably the towns of the East. The air (continued the letter) will be darkened and poisoned by that fearful wind, and in the midst of it a voice or sound will be heard, which will destroy the hearts of men. All towns



close to the shore will be covered with sand and earth. All this is to happen through the conjunction of all the planets in the sign of the Scales and in the tail of the Dragon, and will take place in the month of September. The sun also will enter into the same conjunction. Such a rare occurrence can only occur by the will of God, in order to be as a wonderful sign of the change to which all mutable things are to be subjected. The premonitory sign will be an eclipse of the sun, immediately before the conjunction of the planets, obscuring the whole body of the sun; and the moon in the opposition will also be totally eclipsed. The sun will appear fiery red and distorted during the eclipse, which, moreover, signifies approaching bloodshed in the neighbourhood of a river in the East and similarly in the West. Doubt and ignorance will seize Jews and Muhammetans until they forsake their synagogues and "mahumeries." Their sect will then be utterly destroyed by the will of God. Know ye therefore to leave the land so soon as you see the eclipse.

This letter or message was sent in the first place in the name of the astrologers of Toledo, and especially in the name of the Magister Johannes Davidis Hispalensis. There are many variations of the letter, and it has a history of its own, which I intend discussing here. It may appear somewhat remote from the immediate object of our investigations. It has apparently nothing of the *folk* in it. It is neither a tale nor a custom, nor does it lend itself to any of the metaphysical speculations so much in favour in so many of the more recent researches in the field of folklore. The general inclination seems to be to go to the very remote and necessarily obscure origins of all the manifestations of spiritual folklore, and to attempt thereby to solve the manifold problems which the study of the folk presents. I do not undervalue the merit of these speculations, nor do I intend criticising the work accomplished hitherto; but each of us looks upon these problems in the

light of his own investigations or predilections, and takes a different path towards the ultimate goal.

Everything with which we come in contact or in which we move is the result of composite forces, and so also is what we call the mind of the people. It is not the simple unfolding in a direct and straight line of any embryonic mental force, but a highly composite product of centuries of development under the most varied influences. The warp and woof of the human mind and of the lore of the people is not woven of one strand or of one colour, it is a multicoloured design of many strands and of many origins. The more we try to unravel this composite design, the more we find that patient following up of each separate thread is the only safe plan, unless we choose to lose ourselves in the labyrinth of metaphysical speculation. We must follow the thread that leads to the skein left at the entrance, and not try to unite ends which are separated in time and history. The *historical* investigation of each custom, tale, superstition, or charm is the primary condition for the solution of some of the problems of folklore. We shall never solve the riddle of the human heart; and we dare not ignore (as is often done) all the intervening chains and links which bind nations and organizations together, nor content ourselves with finding sufficient ground for new elucidatory theories in a single casual parallel, or even in a number of parallels. Our Society, happily, is not wedded to one single dogmatic teaching, and I contend that in the variety of opinions and views there lies a better prospect of approaching the ultimate truth, than in following one single beaten track. Because of this, I have taken the Letter of Toledo as a typical subject for investigation. It appeared in the middle period of the Christian Era, and started from one of the most famous centres of mediæval learning. It will therefore be useful to study the question of this letter upwards and downwards; to follow its further spread from the twelfth century onwards, and to attempt to trace its origin back to older sources.



The principal questions which engage our attention are necessarily : in how far has this or any such letter contributed to enrich the stock of popular knowledge and belief? and inversely, how much in it is due to such belief? When we are asked to look upon every item found among the unlettered as a remnant of an old state of mind, independent of, and in some points contrary to, the modern state of the church and of what we call civilisation, it behoves us to make it perfectly clear that no other influences have been at work, and that it cannot be traced to more recent sources of tradition, either by word of mouth or by written literature (which last merely facilitates the spread of the elements of knowledge). One of the greatest delusions, to my mind, is the belief that any nation, nay, any hamlet, has ever lived in absolute isolation from the rest of the world. No such thing has existed, at least in Europe; and I am inclined to extend the possibilities of intercommunication also to other nations and countries. Each kingdom in the East has had a period of great culture and of powerful intercourse between one part of it and another. Whoever has studied, even cursorily, the wayfaring life of the Middle Ages, and the manifold means of carrying tales and news from one place to the other, will not, and in fact cannot, entertain for one moment the theory of isolation. And where is the influence of the Church? and of the Christian apocryphal literature, which is so full of legendary and miraculous matter, and so well fitted to win the heart of the hearer? All these sources of popular inspiration must first be laid bare, their influence examined, their changes followed up, and their multifarious combinations described, ere we are in a position to pronounce any specified element in folklore to be an old tradition derived from pre-scientific times, a "relic of an unrecorded past." In this process of sifting, time and patience are required, and however slow the process may be, it is, at any rate, sure and safe. How much can we not learn from studying our own life, our daily experience, especially



when unmistakable historical evidence fortifies our observations! From these we start as from a stable basis venture into more remote speculations upon metaphysical or psychical origins.

To turn now to the Letter. It presents itself as a message sent from the astrologers of Toledo to Pope Clement, informing him that the peculiar combination of the planets in their course prognosticates a serious catastrophe for the inhabited world. Let us note at once two facts. The Letter is sent from Toledo by astrologers. The echo of the Letter is heard almost in every chronicle of the time. Its fame and the dread it produced can be traced throughout Christendom, without limit of time or space. We meet with it in English Chronicles as well as in French, in German, and Italian, with some modifications, which, though slight, are yet of sufficient importance for my thesis.

The profound effect which this letter produced upon the people's imagination proves then, in the first place, how deeply the belief in the influence of the stars had penetrated into human thought in the Middle Ages, much more generally than in older times. An unexpected conjunction of the heavenly bodies was sufficient to terrify both the learned and the unlearned masses. The belief was universal and undisputed. How tempting it would be to discuss here the history of astrology and astrolatry throughout the world, lasting so many centuries! How strongly this belief has ruled over man and has influenced him in many important acts of his life! How many battles have been fought, how many political actions undertaken, under this influence only! And when we speak now of a man being born under a "lucky star," are we not standing under the shadow of the old astrological belief? Are we not still worshipping at the old shrine? One can follow the slow growth of this belief through the old systems of worship, and prove that astrology proper—that is, the science of nativities and of the systematic exposition of the influence which each star, by

itself and in conjunction with others, has upon man's career—is an artificial and “scientific” development from more primitive conceptions. Yet it is this *highly-developed and artificial belief* which was spread and accepted in Europe and still clings to the masses. Shall I mention Zadkiel and Moore, the modern reflex of similar mediæval calendars and almanacks with prognostications and nativities? Astrology was imported directly from the East in all its details, and yet we find it in every home and hamlet exercising a far deeper influence upon the unlettered than the prognostications of our modern weather-prophets and the teachings of our astronomers. It is found, I repeat, amongst the masses, and it is contrary to our modern science, yet it is not a “relic of an unrecorded past.” We can trace it to a special centre, Toledo—a great university, whither men flocked from all parts of the world desirous of being instructed in the higher branches of knowledge. There was no man who aspired to a high position, or who was eager to slake his thirst for knowledge, who did not repair to that centre of learning and tolerance. Alchemy and astrology were soon added to the curriculum of teaching. Necromancy became by popular etymology *nigromancy*, the Black Art, and scholars like Michael Scott and Albertus Magnus, who had to pass a course of education at that famous university, soon became identified with nigromancy in the eyes of the people. The teacher at that heathen school could then only be the devil *in persona*. Among the peculiar Virgil-legends of the Middle Ages, we find one which represents the Devil as the teacher of nigromancy in Toledo, obtaining as the price of his tuition one of twelve scholars who on a certain day had to sit on a flying wheel which turned rapidly, and the one who flew off was quickly snatched up by the teacher as his lawful fee. We can therefore understand the consternation which seized the world when from that centre of mysterious learning such a warning was sent to foretell the impending doom.



It may be of interest to ask how it came about that a belief of this kind should strike such deep roots in the mind of the nations? Why should people give credence to assertions not easily proved? A legitimate question to put, when once we have reached the starting-point of the belief. The credulity of the masses is no answer. Even credulity presupposes a mental disposition to accept a teaching in which there is no control possible, except it be the chance accomplishment of one or another prediction. When once the belief is established, the mass concludes, by a chain of loose reasoning, that what has proved true in one case may be true in other cases also.

I am not bold enough to deny the possibility of the stars and planets exercising a certain influence upon man and earthly beings. Sun and moon produce the great and stirring movements of the seas known as the tides, and why should they not exercise some similar influence upon the blood, causing it also to ebb and flow? The quick or slow movement of the blood stimulates or neutralises our activity, it makes us sluggish or enthusiastic, and thus determines our action. The whole electric power stored in the earth, of which we now begin to get a faint glimpse, is derived directly from the sun; the X rays, invisible to us, mould our life profoundly; and wireless telegraphy may be carried on in space with greater effect than we are as yet aware. There may be an elementary basis of rudimentary experience at the root of the vastly-developed science or pseudo-science of astrology. But between the premiss of a possible influence of the heavenly bodies, and the theory and practice of astrology with its systematised interpretation of that influence, yawns the gulf which modern science attempts to bridge. But the people had no clear conception of these truths, or apparent truths. To them sufficed the example of the great, of the kings and the aristocracy; and the authority of the masters stood in place of individual reasoning. Thus, therefore, the Letter spread consternation far and wide, and one of the



chroniclers, a shrewd observer of events, connects the stirring of the Third Crusade with the deep emotion produced by these forebodings, which in one version of the Letter are directly connected with the Holy Land and the attacks of Saladin on Jerusalem. No less a personage than Giraldus Cambrensis connects the Crusade with the emotion produced by this Letter. Roger of Wendover, in his Chronicle, under the year 1229, mentions not only this Letter but three similar letters, the oldest being the one under our immediate consideration. So does Gervasius (to mention only English chroniclers), and so also Benedict of Peterborough. All these ascribe the Letter to Magister Johannes Toletanus.

The period at which the Letter was circulated for the first time was favourable for the publication of such auguries of evil and of catastrophes threatening to destroy the world. The public spirit was then in a state of effervescence, half frightened and half disappointed. The dreaded time of the Second Advent of Christ was expected to take place at the end of the first thousand years; and the expected appearance of the Millennium was one of the factors which had often, especially in ancient times, produced ecclesiastical, social, and political convulsions. The year 1000 had been awaited by anxious multitudes, dreading the terrible signs and wonders which were to come upon the world. The year 1000 had just past, and neither had the terrible events come to pass, nor had the enthusiastic expectations been realised. A state of subdued excitement remained. Some of it spent itself in the Crusades, the rest in apocalyptic and mystical literature and in sectarian movements, on which I do not intend entering here. They belong to Church history proper, and are only mentioned here in connection with this astrological Letter.

Man must have something in which to trust, and on which to rely, to strengthen his failing courage and to lift for him, if possible, a corner of the veil that covers the future. Man is always anxious to know that which a wise Providence

hides from him: "the next day"! Here now stepped in the new science, which professed to be able to foretell not only what would happen on the morrow, but to give to the inquirer an answer as to what would happen to him in the course of his life, and even foretell the length of that life and the way in which he would spend it. Backed by the authority of science and by the magic of the great names of men acquainted with all hidden mysteries and possessed of all the knowledge which canny and uncanny wisdom could grant, the belief was accepted as a key to the future, and the utterances of the astrologers were implicitly believed. It so happened that these forebodings did not come to pass. This is the psychological moment which invests these Letters with a peculiar significance from the point of view of folklore. They shared the fate of all unfulfilled prophecies. The first stage is, that ingenious devices are invented in order to explain the non-fulfilment. The penitent mood of the people, the mercy of God, the intervention of other unforeseen causes obviated the threatened event, and thus the world was saved for the time being. In the case of the Letter of 1186, no doubt can exist of the truth of the remarkable conjunction of the planets in that particular part of the skies. Professor Grauert, who has studied the later history of this Letter, has been able to ascertain through the instrumentality of the Astronomer-Royal in Berlin that this really happened. Minor occurrences which otherwise would have passed unnoticed were magnified into great heavenly or earthly convulsions. Winds were transformed into raging storms, and slight skirmishes sanguinary battles. In spite of all these devices the world felt that the prophecy had not been fulfilled. They did not hear the crack of doom.

The second stage is the reappearance of the Letter soon afterwards, *i.e.* about thirty years later. But it has already undergone a slight alteration. It is still ascribed to the astrologers of Toledo, but the name of the eminent man



who forwards it is now the Cardinal Johannes Toletanus, and the date of the prophecy is now 1229. This Cardinal Johannes has been, if I may say so, rediscovered by Professor Grauert, who published quite recently a monograph on Meister Johannes von Toledo (Munich, 1901), and who studied this letter *in extenso* in connection with the Cardinal John. To this monograph I must refer for the bibliographical notes referring to the Letter. Curious to know who the author of this remarkable writing could be, Professor Grauert has succeeded in unearthing a large number of variants, but he has neither traced its origin nor perceived its bearing on other questions. He is forced to own that the first appearance of the Letter preceded by thirty or more years the life of the Cardinal. This Cardinal John was of English origin and had also studied in Toledo. We are not interested here to follow up his political activity, and to relate his fight against the Emperor in favour of the Pope. His dabbling in alchemy brought down upon him the suspicion of nigromancy and astrology, which went hand in hand in popular imagination. He is credited, therefore, with the authorship of this Letter, in which also a prophecy is inserted about the death of a mighty Emperor in the East, and the appearance of an "Emperor over the whole universe." His contemporary Michael Scott, of the same school, is credited with the authorship of another prophecy in favour of the Emperor Frederic II. against the Pope (about 1244). He is mentioned by Dante as a nigromancer (*Inferno*, cant. xx., v., 116 ff.). We see now what had happened to the old Letter. In spite of the fact that the planetary conjunction was no longer tenable, it is still repeated as a justification of the events which are foretold; merely the date of the occurrence is altered to suit changed circumstances; and instead of the old and forgotten name, a new one, very much like the old one, also Johannes Toletanus, is substituted. Whilst in the former case it was Johannes David Hispalensis, it is now another pretended Spaniard of the same name, but



a Cardinal! Roger of Wendover prints this Letter also under the year 1229, and takes it very seriously.

This time also the prophecy is doomed to failure. The Cardinal did not prove more reliable than the older astrologer. But what did it matter? No sooner do new occurrences again cause great excitement than the Letter reappears with almost mathematical regularity. The writer of the fresh Letter does not invent anything new, just as little as did the Apocalyptic writer in ancient times; but he applies old imagery to suit the new requirements. About one hundred years pass away, and in the years 1322-29, during the period of the great commotions in Italy and Central Europe, when great floods sweep the Continent and famine ravages many cities, the Letter is circulated again, still ascribed to Magister Johannes of Toledo. The great storm which raged in Naples in 1343, graphically described by Petrarch, had, according to the latter, been foretold by a bishop living close to Naples who was very much addicted to the study of astrology, who, however, had prophesied an earthquake, and not a storm. Grauert sees in this prophecy the reflex of the same Letter.

The year 1345 was considered by the astrologers as one full of evil portents. In it many conjunctions took place; notably one on the 8th of February, when Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, and Mercury were all standing in the same sign. Villani, in his Florentine Chronicle, testifies to the profound impression which these astrological conjunctions produced, and how much they were believed to have caused all the troubles which then visited Italy. The medical faculty of Paris declared these conjunctions to be one of the causes of the plague (the Black Death), and they repeat in their report almost the very words of the Toledo Letter, without mentioning it by name.

The centre of learning had meanwhile been shifted from Toledo to Paris. The old school of necromancers had disappeared, and new authorities occupied the place as-

signed to the men of those schools of old. Hence when the Letter reappears it is made to fit the new condition of things. In 1395, about two hundred years after its first appearance, it is found in a Codex at Eichstadt, from which Grauert has reprinted it in full. The main points are absolutely identical. The same events will occur in consequence of the conjunction of the planets in the Cauda Draconis in the month of September,—floods and storms will rage, buildings will be destroyed and valleys submerged. Terrible and long-lasting eclipses of the sun will darken the day, and fiery signs and the eclipse of the moon signify the destruction of nations. Sanguinary battles in the East and in the West, shedding of blood and earthquakes will happen. A mighty emperor will die. Few will survive. The Mohammedans will be seized with doubt and join the Christians. The only safeguard against the impending evils will be to hide in caves inside of rocky mountains provided with food for thirty days. In this prophecy joined the philosophers of Greece, Arabia, Hispania, and Francia. It was signed by twenty-one Magisters in Paris on the 1st of April. Professor Grauert asks whether the date of the "1st of April" does not point to the fact that this Letter may be the work of a wag who intended to play a practical joke. I do not think so. The people at that time were not much given to practical joking, and the year 1395 was anything but favourable for it. The world was too much distraught by internal strife and foreign wars, and minds were under the strong influence of mystical and apocalyptic literature.

I will pass over the other parallels found in the course of the fifteenth century, and will mention only one more variant of this letter, dated 1480, and published by Grauert from MSS. in the Florentine Library. This last version is of the utmost importance, for it helps us to recognise the elements out of which it had grown. It is not, as Professor Grauert suggests, a reflex of the Toledo Letter,



mixed up with other elements gathered from different sources. Before I give an abstract of this somewhat lengthy document, it will be of interest to notice that a German translation of the Letter exists of the same year, and if my memory does not entirely deceive me, I remember having seen a variant of it in an English chapbook. I have not been able to trace it now, but hope with the assistance of others to find it yet. This shows how long the Letter has been able to exist. In its latest form it has lost its name and does not mention any authority, but the principal features, the storm and the eclipse of the sun, the death of an emperor, and the terrible phenomena in heaven and upon earth, are faithfully reproduced. It is still an astrological message, though much toned down as far as the astrology is concerned. It is now a simple chapbook.

But to return to the Florentine variant. No Johannes and no David are any longer mentioned. Neither is Toledo or Paris referred to. Similarly, little is heard of philosophers and astrologers. The letter comes as a message from a pious hermit from behind Mount Sinai, and also from a certain Rasis of Antiochia, who have both got their information from Arabic writings. The chief points are as follows: "Great tribulations will begin with the year 1447 and will continue until 1510, growing steadily all the while. The land of the Christians will be filled with more anguish and pain than can be described. Wars and bloodshed in the East and West, famine, plague, dearth, and death. The Pope will cry in vain asking the kings to make war in the Holy Land. The kingdom of the Franks (*Francorum*) will be destroyed through their ignorance. Heresies will terrify the world, and not even three Cardinals will be left in Rome, the Pope himself fleeing from the city. Many clerics will deny their faith, and the altars of Paul and Peter will be defiled. Earthquakes will destroy many towns. The planets will produce much poison among the nations, and the air will be filled with exhalations which will cause human bodies to shrivel up.

Storms will raise the sand in sandy places and will cover men until they be suffocated. A total eclipse of the sun will envelop the whole world in darkness, and the moon will appear ruddy and dark. All the nations will be seized with ignorance and doubt. The Saracen will relinquish his synagogues and "mahummerries." A mighty emperor will die seven months after the eclipse. The sea will overflow its border, and the winds will blow so strongly that no ship will be able to withstand their force. Trees will be uprooted and houses overthrown. The only way to escape will be to go into the open plain and to build houses of wooden beams, covering them with earth, and taking care to be far away from trees, so that they should not fall upon these habitations and crush them. Daniel had already foreseen the coming forth of the Ishmaelites at the end of the sixth sign of the centuries (*sic*), who would cause widespread misery and confusion. Many Christian nations would be delivered into their hands, because of their sins. The Ishmaelites will conquer and subdue Greece, Gallia, Hispania, Germania, Aquitania, the Islands of the Sea, even Jerusalem and the Land of Promise. (The cruelties to be perpetrated by the Ishmaelites when they break forth from the desert are then minutely described.) Their power will be the greatest in Spain, and they will go about decked in silver and gold and covered with precious stones. The elect of the Christians will then appear, and will show by their sufferings and martyrdom their steadfast adherence to their faith. God will then remember His promise and free them from the yoke of the Saracens. A Roman emperor will then be raised anew, who will smite the Ishmaelites with the edge of the sword and drive them away. In Persia, Egypt, and Spain he will visit on them their iniquities sevenfold, and peace will reign in the lands of the Christians. Then will appear the two nations Gog and Magog, and divide Asia among themselves. The frightened inhabitants will hide in the crevices of the mountains and in caverns,



for the heathen eat also human flesh, and no one will be able to contend with them. The Roman emperor will then besiege Jerusalem for seven years, at the end of which the Son of Perdition will be born. Antichrist will be born in Babylon, brought up in "Denceaym (Grauert thinks Corozaim) Bethsaida," and will rule in Cafernaum. As soon as he makes his appearance the Roman emperor will go to Golgotha, and, taking off his crown, will place it upon the spot of the Crucifixion. He will pray and give up his soul in prayer. In 1516 Antichrist will proclaim himself king, and will do marvellous things and perform wonders and signs almost as God; fire will he cause to fall from heaven, the demons will obey him, the hidden treasures will be revealed to him. The sun will be darkened, and the moon will appear like blood, and he will deceive many. He will then kill two servants of Christ and leave their corpses unburied for three days, after which they will be quickened into life and ascend to heaven. But in the year 1520 Christ will kill Antichrist with the breath of his mouth on Mount Olivet, and the archangel Michael will destroy the heathen nations of Gog and Magog and burn them with fire in the eyes of all the nations, so that they be consumed. In 1540 there will be one flock and one shepherd.

Thus far the abstract of this curious Letter. Its full significance can only be gauged if we remember the time of its appearance. The Middle Ages are drawing to a close. The Reformation is beginning in the Church. Dissatisfaction is rife everywhere, and the Church of Rome is beginning to be identified with the Antichrist of the old Christian tradition. The approach of the Millennium is taught by many, and preparations are made for the Second Advent of Christ. I am leaving the dogmatic questions severely alone, and I point merely to such developments of Millennary hopes and inspirations as we meet with among the Anabaptists and the Rosicrucians; not to speak of many other similar movements elsewhere. Many sects with similar views appear

in England in the 17th century; notably through the efforts of Joseph Mede, and more so through Jane Leade, who established the well-known Philadelphic Society, a society of the elect to await the coming of the "Bridegroom." Dates are fixed for the reappearance of Christ; and, as a corollary, for that of Antichrist, in spite of the fact that he was identified with the Pope and the Church of Rome. This and similar letters were implicitly believed in, and taken to convey oracles and prophecies which confirmed the people in their expectation of impending events. The period is saturated with mystical and apocalyptic literature.

It is idle to assume that such writings have remained outside the sphere of the "people;" on the contrary, if anything, they were and are potent factors in moulding the spiritual life of the masses, for their influence has been deep and lasting. How deeply it has sunk into the mind of the people can easily be seen if we examine the popular belief in such premonitory Letters and in astrological predictions, and co-ordinate popular notions with the principles that are presupposed, or are expressly mentioned, in these mystical messages.

They were eagerly taken up and easily believed, because they chimed in with a large mass of similar tradition that had filtered down from ancient times. The Letter of Toledo became again merged in what I conceive to be the main stream of apocalyptic tradition, which permeated the ancient Christian world. It had formed for a short time a branch of the river. The non-fulfilment of the Millennium at the end of the year 1000, which had been so eagerly and faithfully awaited since the days of St. Augustine (who gave that interpretation to the classical passages in the Gospels and in the Apocalypse of St. John), had somewhat disconcerted the faithful. Now there arose another source of terror, based upon the new science of astrology. The people in moments of extreme fear remember the old



dark sayings of the past; they turn to the old literature, discarded for a time. What was then more natural than to turn to the old formula of the Antichrist, with the signs and portents which were to announce the dread event to the terrified masses? The old imagery is revived under different circumstances, and thus a letter from the astrologers of Toledo is the form in which it now appears. The setting is somewhat different but the substance is the same. The old Antichrist legend had meanwhile become thoroughly assimilated. The nations of the West knew it. It was known to the old Eddaic writer of the *Völuspá*, as has been shown by recent investigations. The *Ragnarök* and the *Muspilli* are evidently derived directly from the Antichrist Saga. The Doomsday of the so-called Saxon mythology is the result of the Christian apocryphal teaching. The end of the world is introduced for the first time to the heathen nations. The Christian element is presented in a mythological form; only the names are altered, not the substance. Instead of a mythical, there is an astrological background, and at once we have the letter evolved out of the Antichrist legend. Suppose for one moment that the chain of evidence had broken, and that we found ourselves face to face with modern chapbooks and astrological prognostications, so absolutely identical in form with the *Völuspá*, what would be more natural than to assume that these two belong to one and the same old mythical European tradition, and that the chapbook must be the remnant of the old form of belief, so contrary to the modern notions of astronomy and of a "Doomsday"?

For this Antichrist legend, with the signs and wonders in it, is of a very complex origin. It is the growth of centuries, during which many of the features with which we are familiar in its European shape have been slowly added. Bousset and others have described the history of this growth, and have attempted to trace the various elements which enriched it to their primary sources. Phrases from

the Sibylline Oracles as well as from the Bible and the Gospels; peculiar interpretations of the classical passage in the Revelation, crystallised slowly round a central idea, which may be even older than Christianity. Gunkel sees in it the reflex of old Babylonian myths, of the fight of the Dragon with God. But we are not now concerned with eschatological origins. The problem with which we are dealing is the question of the more recent growth and the spread of the developed form. It is therefore not devoid of interest to point out that Bede in the eighth century, one of the oldest chroniclers of the fifteen signs of the Antichrist, and of the Crack of Doom, presents a very complete system and theory of Antichrist. It is this very composite form, the result of hundreds of years of development, with which both the Northern writers and the authors of mediæval apocalypses were acquainted. They knew, not the single scattered elements, but the complete legend. They give the same imagery in almost the same sequence, as we find in the Letter of Toledo, both in its earliest and latest versions. In all these versions, as in the Antichrist Saga, the scattered elements are focussed into one sustained narrative. Each of the parallels and each single item can be traced to the writings of the Fathers of the Church. The different signs existed separately, and were only at a later period added one after another to the central figure of Antichrist. It is not necessary to quote the parallels to that passage in the Florentine version which gives a description of Antichrist, his rule over the world, the appearance of Gog and Magog, the slaying of God's two witnesses, for they speak for themselves and unmistakably betray their origin. Of greater interest it is to find the parallels to such portions in the Letter of Toledo in 1186 as are connected with Doomsday. Let us take the hurricane and storm. We find them in *Sibyll*, viii, 203. "And the sun shall appear darkling by night, and the stars quit the sky, and with great fury a hurricane shall lay waste the



earth, and (then) shall be the resurrection of the dead." (Bousset, 247). Lactantius quotes another Sibyl saying: "A trumpet shall send forth from heaven a sound of much wailing" (*ib.* 248). The conversion of the Jews and Saracens, a constant figure in the Letter, is clearly taken from a fairly developed form of the Antichrist legend (*v.* Bousset, p. 214, ff.). In the Letter the conversion has no meaning whatever, for that is intended as a warning to the people to beware of a catastrophe which is to overtake all without distinction of race or creed; but by tracing the incident to its source we see the true meaning of the reference.

To sum up. The legend of Antichrist, starting from one centre and from one spiritual medium, gathers strength and volume before it reaches Europe, when it is quickly taken up by the imaginative portion of the population. After a time it is thoroughly assimilated. The idea of the End of Days, which may or may not have previously existed among the European nations, obtains a definite shape under its influence. Other circumstances drive these newly-acquired conceptions into the background. Unfulfilled prophecies, expectations which have turned out vain, contribute to the partial obscuring of the legend in its original and complex form. Under other circumstances one part of it, however, is revived under a somewhat altered shape. The limitless dark future is replaced by immediate fixed dates. Instead of the end of the whole world, a partial impending destruction is described. Credulity is revived, spiritual forces are again at work, astrology joins hands with mysticism and apocalyptic visions, and thus secures a new lease of life for the old set of hopes and fears. The legend is circulated under changed names, adapted to new situations. Another political and religious change brings the old legend to life again, and gives it another interpretation, as happened to the Antichrist legend at the time of the Reformation. The intermediate form is then merged again into the older

and truer one, and both contribute to enrich popular fancy and poetry.

Only a careful first-hand investigation of documentary evidence will succeed in sifting the so-called ancient remnants existing in the minds of the people, and in determining whether they are to be looked upon as such "relics of an unrecorded past" or as fragments of recent origin. I have tried here to join link to link in the chain of tradition in order to show how deep the influence of this form of the Antichrist legend has been, and how far-reaching in its results upon the religious and political development of the nations of Europe during the last thousand years, in the course of which the Letter of Toledo has played an important part. Other investigations will doubtless show how much it has enriched the people's knowledge and has contributed to bring about that state of mind which strikes us as archaic and "folkloric."

M. GASTER.

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## MALAY SPIRITUALISM.

BY WALTER SKEAT, M.A.

*(Read at Meeting, 26th March, 1902.)*

WHEN I recently had the honour of being invited by the Council to read a paper before this Society, I had nothing ready which seemed suitable for the purpose. It appeared to me, however, that it would be a useful piece of work to bring together in one paper the main facts concerning the spiritualistic beliefs of the Peninsular Malays, with special reference to motor-automatisms of the type of the Divining-Rod, where the motions of an inert object in contact with a human being may be regarded as externalisations of sub-conscious knowledge. Out of this idea the present paper



has grown.<sup>1</sup> I shall therefore now endeavour in the first place to put the details of the Malay performances before you as clearly as possible. I shall then proceed to state the problem, in so far as it concerns ethnology, and shall only refer incidentally to the few, and, I fear, somewhat negative results which may be of general psychical interest. Speaking generally, most forms of spiritualism known to us in Europe are most likely known in some form or other to Malay magicians, even though they may not all have been yet recorded. Devil-dancing is practised, and apparitions, and what may be called Pelting Spirits (*Poltergeistern*) are certainly most strongly believed in. Houses are left uninhabited on account of phenomena of the classes referred to, and I myself once lived for many months in a Malay house which, according to the Malays, was unmistakably haunted.

Of spirit-writing and levitation, no purely Malay accounts are yet to hand. It would be unsafe to assume the absence of the first till we know for certain if there is any really automatic form of *planchette* practised in China, beside the case described by Professor Giles as long ago as 1879, in which a poem was composed for the writers. As to the second, there are many references in Malay literature to the flying performances of Malayan heroes, whilst to this day it is alleged in Selangor that people possessed by the Pontianak,<sup>2</sup> (one of the tremendous birth-demons of Malay

<sup>1</sup> For many of the notes, and for much valuable assistance in the compiling of this paper, I am indebted to Mr. N. W. Thomas.

<sup>2</sup> In the Malay Peninsula the Pontianak (or Mati-anak) is usually distinguished as the ghost of a *child* who has died at birth, the ghost of a *woman* who has died in child-birth being called "langsuir," and credited with all the attributes which elsewhere belong to the Pontianak. Cf. Col. J. Low on Siamese Customs in *J. A. I.*, vol. I., p. 361, which I had not seen when I wrote to the above effect in *Malay Magic*, pp. 318 and 327. There is no doubt that the two are often confused, but the belief in the langsuir, as distinguished from the Pontianak, is certainly the usual explanation in the Peninsula. [Cf. Kruijt in *Med. Ned. Zend.*, xxxix., p. 17, and xlii., p. 433; also Riedel, 57, 58, 81, 184, 239, 267 (and in several other passages), though in none of these is the langsuir once mentioned. N. W. T.]

tradition), acquire supernatural powers, enabling them to climb trees of immense height and to walk in safety along branches which are no thicker than a man's thumb, a manifest impossibility under normal conditions. A similar power is also claimed for the young girls who perform what the Malays call the Monkey-dance, in which, however, they are possessed by the Monkey-spirit.

The burning of incense and recital of a charm called *Péruang* enables Malay magicians to walk upon water without sinking in it beyond the ankles. A similar charm in the case of the Malay form of ordeal by diving enables the innocent party to remain under water for an incredible period, which, according to the Malays, sometimes extended to "almost" three-quarters of an hour, in fact in some cases (it was declared) he would remain under water until the spectators lost patience and dragged him out, whereas the guilty party begins to choke immediately. A magician from Perak informed me once that he had used the power of causing a sandbank to rise at sea between his own boat and that of his pursuers. I at once made him a sporting offer of twenty dollars if he would give me an exhibition of it, but he informed me that it could only be done when he was really in danger, and not for "swagger." The same man, moreover, claimed to possess the power of clairvoyance, but failed in an easy test which he himself proposed.

The first class of spiritualistic ceremonies, which happens to be the one to which I specially wish to direct your attention to-night, consists of a simple form of automatism, as represented by the movements of inert objects. No form of table-turning is of course practised by the Malays, who pass their lives for the most part in scattered communities, either in the jungle or at sea, and who do not therefore make any appreciable use of such luxuries as tables and chairs. Nevertheless a fairly close parallel to our own table-turning exhibitions may be found in the dance-ritual of inanimate objects which the Malay magicians



exhibit, though we do not as yet possess any clue as to the real purpose of such performances.

A second class of automatisms, allied in form to these dances, includes a large number of ways of divining by means of the apparently intelligent movements of inanimate objects *in contact* with the magician.

A third class, which requires to be distinguished to some extent from automatic phenomena, consists mainly of ceremonies by which certain demons, animals, or even inert objects, are made to act upon persons at a distance. This kind of ceremony corresponds to what is usually known as a "sending."

The fourth and last class of ceremonies to which I shall refer includes such rites as are intended to induce possession either for divinatory purposes or for that of exorcism. These four classes will now be taken in the order in which I have mentioned them.

I. In the first class of motor-automatisms I place those ceremonies of which the purpose does not lie on the surface, and can only be inferred by the European observer.

The *Palm-blossom Dance* is a very curious exhibition, which I once saw performed in the Langat District of Selangor. Two freshly-gathered sprays of areca-blossom, each about four feet in length, were deposited upon a new mat near a tray containing a censer and three special kinds of sacrificial rice. No particular season was specified. The magician ("Che Ganti" by name) commenced the performance by playing a prelude on his violin, and a few minutes later Che Ganti's wife (an aged Selangor woman) took some of the sacrificial rice in her hand and began to chaunt a weird sort of invocation, addressed to the seven sister spirits, probably the souls of the palm. She was almost immediately joined in the chaunt by a younger woman. The invocation consists of four separate sets of seven stanzas, each stanza containing four short lines,

which rhyme alternately. The first set begins as follows :

" Thus I brace up, I brace up the palm-blossom,  
And summon the elder sister to descend by herself.  
Thus I brace up, I brace up the palm-blossom,  
And summon the second sister to descend with the first."

The same words are repeated *mutatis mutandis* until all seven sisters have been summoned to descend, the witch then covers the two sprays of palm-blossom with a Malay plaid skirt or wrapper and five cubits of white cloth, folded double and fumigated. The chaunt now changes abruptly into the second set of seven stanzas :

" Borrow a hammer, borrow an anvil to forge the neckbones  
of this our sting-ray (*i.e.* the sheaf of blossom).  
Borrow an orchard, borrow a courtyard,  
To bring down upon earth the fairy sisters."

Six stanzas follow, in which the names of six other parts of the sting-ray, *i.e.* the head, wings, tail, gills, &c., are successively substituted. At this point rice is thrown over one of the two sprays, its sheath is opened, and the contents fumigated. Then the old woman takes the newly-fumigated spray between her hands, holding it upright at the base with her hands just resting on the ground, and the third set of stanzas commences with the words :

" Dig up, O dig up the wild ginger-plant,  
Dig till you get a finger's breadth or two of it.  
Seek for, O seek for a magnificent domain  
Into which to bring down the fairy sisters."

The remaining six stanzas of this set are similar to the first, with variations appropriate to each one of the six remaining spirits. During the chaunting of this third set, the erect spray of Palm-blossom, held between the witch's hands, commenced swaying, at first almost imperceptibly, to the tune of the music, its motion becoming more and more accentuated as the chaunt proceeded.



The last set of stanzas proceeded with the words :

“ Bear on high the betel-rack, bear on high the betel-dish,  
Bear them on high in the midst of the pleasure garden.  
Come hither, my love, come hither, my life,  
Come hither and seat yourself in the courtyard's centre.”

The last six stanzas vary only in the invitations addressed to the spirits, which are requested to ascend the house-ladder and wash their feet, to take their seat upon the mats that are spread for them, and to enjoy to the full the good things (*e.g.*, betel-leaf, &c.), which their hosts have provided for their refreshment. The invocation concludes with an appeal to the spirits not to be too rough, but to be mild and gentle, and as its wailing notes die away, it is believed that the seven spirits descend and “perch” like birds upon the palm-blossom. At this point the fiddle stopped and tambourines were substituted, the spray of blossom forthwith proceeding to jump about on its base, as if it were indeed possessed, until it eventually dashed itself violently down upon the mat-covered floor of the dwelling.<sup>1</sup>

After one or two repetitions of this performance, with Che Ganti's wife as the medium, other persons present (myself amongst them) were invited to try their luck with it, and did so with varying success, which depended, I was told, upon the impressionability of their souls, as the palm-blossom spray would not dance for anyone whose soul was not impressionable. I myself must unfortunately have been one of these people, as I never experienced the slightest tremor, and the palm-blossom remained motionless until I got tired of waiting, and moved it myself, when my doing so was of course hailed as the manifest work of the spirit.

When the first blossom-sheaf had been destroyed by the rough treatment which it had to undergo (as each time at the conclusion of the dance it was dashed upon the ground),

<sup>1</sup> If I remember rightly Che Ganti's wife retained her hold of the spray until it had dashed itself upon the ground two or three times, when she dropped it and let it lie.

the second was duly fumigated and introduced to the company, and finally the performance was brought to a close by chaunting of a set of stanzas in which the spirits are requested to return to their own place. These latter commenced as follows :

" I slip the palm-blossom, I slip it,  
I slip it into the white bowl,  
Escort the fairies, escort them,  
Escort them unto the white heaven."

The remaining stanzas are precisely similar, with the exception of the colours assigned to the bowl and the heavens, which are described successively as black, green, blue, red, purple, and yellow. The two sheaves were then carried out of the house and deposited on the ground underneath a banana-tree. I was told that if this closing part of the performance were not carried out with scrupulous care the spirits would not leave the house, and its inmates would be strange in their head for days, even if, indeed, none of them went mad.

The *Dancing Fish-trap* is a spiritualistic performance in which a fish-trap (*lukah*) is employed instead of the spray of palm-blossom, and a different invocation is used. The fish-trap, moreover, is dressed up much in the same way as one of our own "scare-crows," so as to present a rude sort of resemblance to the human figure. Its "dress" consists of a woman's jacket and plaid skirt (*sarong*), both of which should (if possible) have been worn previously. A stick is then run through the upper part of the trap to take the arms of the jacket and a cocoanut-shell (preferably a *sterile* one) is clapped on to the top to serve as the fish-trap's head. The trap, when fully dressed, is held a few inches above the ground by two or three people, each of whom applies both his hands to the bottom of the Fish-trap, in a manner similar to that employed in our own table-turning performances, and the invocation is forthwith chaunted in the same manner and to the same accompani-



ment as that used in the palm-blossom performance. At the close of the invocation the magician whispers, so to speak, into the fish-trap's ear, bidding it not to disgrace him, but rise up and dance; and presently the fish-trap begins to rock to and fro, and to leap about in a manner which, of course, proves it to be possessed by the spirits.

The invocation used on the east coast is a much more elaborate affair than that used in the western states, and as it is important to the argument, as well as graphic, I give it verbatim:

“ Old Mother Banding,  
I know your origin!  
Old Mother Banding,  
You sprang from the bamboo-clump, on the lonely sand-bank.  
Old Mother Banding,  
Your pointed growing-shoots came  
From the earth's forefinger,  
This stem of yours proceeded  
From the 'Prince' that standeth.  
Your branches came  
From the 'Prince' that spreadeth.  
Your foliage sprang from  
The sheath of palm-blossom.  
Descend now hitherwards  
From the lofty mountain.  
What are you looking for?  
Looking for hot embers  
As well as incense.  
Here you have embers  
As well as incense.  
What are you looking for?  
Looking for my skirt-cloth  
As well as my jacket.  
Here is your skirt-cloth  
As well as your jacket.  
Now you are going  
To the booths of the Chinamen,  
Looking for palm-wine,  
As well as hemp-juice.  
Here is your palm-wine  
As well as hemp-juice.

You have tasted the palm-wine  
 As well as hemp-juice.  
 You are drunk with the palm-wine  
 As well as hemp-juice.  
 You are fairly delicious !  
 And utterly distracted !  
 Bending your body  
 And leaping like a roe-buck,  
 Jumping like prawn-fry,  
 You are thoroughly overcome !  
 Leap now your loftiest,  
 And bound like the *sambhur*  
 Sway from this side to that,  
 Oscillate to and fro,  
 Bowing to the left hand,  
 To the right hand bowing."

At the end of the performance an incantation was chaunted, in order to cause the spirits to return to the place whence they came out:

" Ye who came from the crags return to your crags,  
 Ye who came from the hills return to your hills,  
 Ye who came from the plains return to your plains.  
 And let not one of you lose the road.  
 Let not one of you lose the footpath.  
 Ye who came from the palace return to your palace,  
 Ye who came from hut-rooms return to your hut-rooms.  
 And let not one of you mistake your palace,  
 Let not one of you mistake your hut-rooms.  
 Return now each of you, return now all of you.  
 Little ones, tiny ones, and old and young ones,  
 Lame and halt, and blind and eyeless.  
 Return now each of you, return now all of you,  
 And let not one of you stray or wander,  
 But urge each other to return in a body.  
 Listen, O listen, to my injunctions,  
 Listen, O listen, to my instructions,  
 And if you hearken not to my instructions,  
 You shall be rebels in the sight of Allah,  
 But may I be cool as the sacred serpent !"

Of the *Dancing-Spoon* of the Malays we are told in *Primitive Culture*, ii., 152: "Mr. Darwin saw two



Malay women on Keeling Island, who held a wooden spoon, dressed in clothes like a doll; this spoon had been carried to the grave of a dead man, and becoming inspired at full moon, in fact lunatic, it danced about convulsively, like a table or a hat at a modern spirit séance." This is of course an automatism, not a case of movement without contact.

II. In the next class I place these motor-automatisms in which a definite purpose, easily discernible by the uninitiated, is consciously pursued. In this case also the objects are put in motion by the unconscious muscular action of those in contact with them.

*The Divining Lemon.*—For divinatory purposes the Penang Malay takes a "rough-coated" lemon, a hen's egg, a wax taper, four bananas, four cigarettes, four rolled-up quids of betel-leaf, several handfuls of sacrificial rice, one of the prickles of a thorn-back mudfish, a needle with a torn eye (selected from a packet containing a score of needles, out of which, however, it must be the only one so damaged), and a couple of small birches made of the leaf-ribs of palms—one with seven twigs and the other with twelve. From among the foregoing articles, with the exception of the lemon, the fish-prickle, and the needle, two equal portions are made up, one portion, together with the birch of seven twigs, being deposited under a tree outside the house. When deposited, the egg must be cracked, and the cigarettes and the taper be lighted. The taper is then taken up between the outspread fingers of the joined hands, and "waved" slowly towards the right, centre, and left. It is then deposited on the ground, and the taper presently commences to burn blue, this being regarded as an "acknowledgment" on the part of the spirit. The fish-prickle and the needle are now thrust horizontally through the lower part of the lemon, at right angles to each other, and left so that their four ends are slightly projecting. A silken cord of seven different-coloured strands is then slipped round these ends, and

serves as a means of suspending the lemon over the brazier of incense, the upper end of the cord being held in the left hand and the birch in the right. Everything being prepared, the magician, after the customary scattering of rice and fumigation of the birch and the lemon, recites the appropriate charm, and presently commences to put questions to the lemon which the spirit is now supposed to have entered, rebuking and threatening it with the birch whenever it fails to answer directly and to the point. The spirit's conversational powers were, however, extremely limited, being confined to two signs expressing "Yes" and "No." The affirmative was indicated by a pendulum-like swing of the lemon, which rocked to and fro with more or less vehemence according to the emphasis with which the reply was supposed to be delivered. The negative, on the other hand, was indicated by a complete cessation of motion on the part of the lemon. When the lemon is required to discover the name of a thief, the names of all those who are at all likely to have committed the theft are written on scraps of paper and arranged in a circle round the brazier, when the lemon will at once swing in the direction of the name of the guilty party. The most propitious night for the performance of this ceremony is believed to be a Tuesday.

*The Cup and Ring Ordeal.*—Another and perhaps a commoner form of the foregoing ordeal is described by Maxwell, as follows: "Supposing that a theft has taken place in a house, all the inmates are assembled, and their names are written on the edge of a white cup, on which some sentences of the Koran are also inscribed. A ring is then suspended by a maiden's hair and held right over the middle of the cup. It is then swung round gently, and the name which it first strikes is the name of the thief."

In a slightly different form of the divination, the instrument is a bowl, which is filled with water and covered over with a white cloth, on which the scraps of paper with the names



are successively deposited. The bowl is supported by two men on their knuckles, and a passage from the Koran is read. When the scrap of paper containing the name of the thief is laid on the cloth covering, the bowl twists itself off the men's knuckles, and falls to the ground with a crash.

*The Sieve Ordeal.*—In some cases a sieve (*nyiru*) is similarly used. Mystic sentences are written upon it with turmeric, and when all the household is assembled a man grasps the sieve by the edge and holds it out horizontally. Presently it is seen to commence oscillating up and down, and pulls away from the man who is holding it, the latter following its lead until it reaches and touches the thief.

*The Divining-rod.*—The last object of this class is the Malay divining-rod, which is similarly gifted with the power of making supernatural movements. This is a rod or birch of *rotan sega* (the best marketable variety of cane), which may consist either of a single stem, or of any odd number of stems up to nine. The handle of the rod or rods is bound with a hank of "Javanese" yarn, which may or may not be stained yellow. The sorcerer who wishes to use it grasps the butt-end of the rod in his right fist, and after burning incense and scattering sacrificial rice, repeats the appropriate charm, which commences with a summons to the spirit to descend from the mountains and enter into his embodiment. If the invocation is properly performed, the spirit descends, and entering the sorcerer's head by way of the fontanel, proceeds down his arm and into the rod itself. The result is that the tip of the rod commences to rotate with rapidly increasing velocity, until the sorcerer loses consciousness, in which case the rod will point in the direction of any sort of lost or hidden treasure, which it may be the object of the operators to discover. Even underground water could, I was assured, be thus discovered.

III. We now come to the third class—that of demons, animals, and even inert objects, which are made to act on

persons at a distance—a class which, as I have already said includes *sendings* of every description.<sup>1</sup>

*Sendings*.—One form of sending is described as follows: "When one individual has animosity against another, he constructs a dagger upon magic principles, and recites a prayer over it. Then, if his adversary lives at a distance, the sorcerer, seizing the dagger by the handle, stabs with the point in the direction of his enemy, whereupon the latter immediately falls sick. Blood gathers on the point of the dagger, and this the man *sucks*<sup>2</sup> exclaiming: 'Now I am satisfied,' whilst his adversary becomes speechless and expires."

Another form of *Tuju*, in which the bow appears to have been employed as the instrument, was related to me by a Malay magician as follows: If you wish to abduct another person's soul, you must go out of the house either at day-break or "when the newly-risen moon looks red," and standing with the big toe of the right foot resting upon the big toe of the left, make a trumpet by putting your right hand before your mouth, and recite through it the charm, which runs as follows:—

"Ôm, I loose my shaft, I loose it, and the moon clouds over,  
I loose it and the sun is extinguished,  
I loose it and the stars burn dim.  
Yet I shoot not at sun, moon, or stars,  
But at the heart-strings of a child of the human race, so-and-so,  
Cluck, cluck I soul of so-and-so.  
Come and walk with me,  
Come and sit with me,  
Come and sleep, and share my pillow."

The text of this charm would, I think, be conclusive proof, even if there were no other, that the form of magic

<sup>1</sup> [The magician is regarded (sometimes at any rate) as sending his magic bone or stone in *propria persona* into the body of his enemy. Cf. Nys, *Cheles Abarambos*, p. 117. N. W. T.] Among the Malays, however, these ceremonies are called not *sendings* but *pointings*, and I am not at all sure how far this view applies.

<sup>2</sup> [Cf. *Les Mixions Catholiques*, 1893, p. 345. N. W. T.]



called arrow-sending, or rather, arrow-pointing, was formerly in vogue among Malay magicians.

The next three *sendings* are taken from an old but valuable authority on the Peninsula named Begbie. One form of sending it is called *Tuju Jantong*, or the "heart-sending"; *jantong* being the Malay name both for the human heart and also for the cordiform top of the newly-opened bunch of bananas. The person who employs this form of withcraft has to search for one of these cordiform tops and perform a magic rite under it. He next has to tie the banana-top, and having recited a prayer over it, burns the point which communicates with the heart of his adversary, inflicting excruciating agony. When he is tired of tormenting him he cuts the *jantong*, and the man's heart simultaneously drops from its proper situation, blood issuing from the mouth of the expiring sufferer.

In the remaining instances the sendings apparently consist of insects.<sup>1</sup> The *Tuju Jindang* is a kind of sending in which the sorcerer employs an evil spirit in form of a caterpillar, which is carefully reared in a new vessel and fed upon roasted padi. It partakes of the appearance of the silkworm. Its keeper directs it to attack the enemy, saying: "Go and devour the heart and entrails of so-and-so," or words to that effect, whereupon it departs and flies against the ill-fated individual, entering generally either at the back of the hand or between the shoulders. At the moment of contact a sensation is produced as if a bird had flown against one's body, but it is invisible, and the only sign of its presence is the livid hue of the spot where it has entered. On entering, it forthwith performs its mission, inflicting intolerable torment. The body gradually becomes blue, and the victim expires.

One of the spirits most dreaded by the Malays is the *Polong*, whose shape is described as resembling nothing in

<sup>1</sup> [Cf. Martius, *Zur Eth. Brasiliens*, p. 78; *Les Missions Catholiques*, 1889, p. 377; Totrend, *South African Bantu Languages*, p. 292, &c. N.W.T.]

the animal world, but whose head is formed very much like the handle of a *kris*; the eyes being situated at either end of the cross-guard, and the upper part of the blade representing the neck, from the extremity of which branch out two spinous leg-like processes, running nearly parallel with its spiral filiform body, widening out at the insertion, and gradually approximating at the extremities; at least such is the form of the *Polong* which a Malay physician and dealer in the black art will rudely sketch if requested to do so. It is difficult to believe, although we are so assured, that this demon, with whose figure the Malays are so well acquainted, is nevertheless always invisible. It is death by the Malayan code to keep one, but it is nevertheless asserted that several females are in the habit of doing so, as the possession of a *Polong* imparts exquisite beauty to its owner, even though she be naturally ugly. The men seldom keep one of these spirits unless they have some revenge to gratify, though occasionally they keep them for hire by others. The *Polong* is kept in a small earthen bottle, whose neck is sufficiently wide to permit the introduction of a finger. As it feeds upon human blood, its keeper cuts his finger once or twice a week, either on Friday or Monday night, and inserts it in the bottle for the *Polong* to suck. Should this be neglected the demon issues from his confinement and sucks the whole body until it becomes black and blue. Directly anyone is attacked by a *Polong*, he either screams out, and falls down in a swoon, or becomes death-like and speechless. Sometimes possession is shown by incoherent raving, and in other cases by acts of violence on the by-standers. Occasionally, even death itself ensues. The *Polong* is under strict management, being obliged to inflict the punishment in that kind and degree which his master directs. The Malays say that this form of possession (like that of werewolfism<sup>1</sup>) is infectious, at least in some cases, as people who

<sup>1</sup> [Cf. *Tijdschrift*, xli., 458. N.W.T.]



have been so incautious as to ask the sufferer the simple question, "What is the matter? Have you got a *Polong*?" are instantly affected in a similar manner. Mr. Thomson (of Singapore) saw a man who positively assured him that he had seen no less than twenty individuals thus seized at the same time.

The soothsayer or physician is called in to the patient in order to exorcise the spirit. He draws a representation of it in a white basin, and pouring water on to it, desires the patient to drink the same. He then holds the ends of the possessed person's thumb, in order to prevent the escape of the *Polong* (that being the door by which it makes its exits and entrances), and questions it as to its motives for tormenting the individual. Having received its replies through the mouth of the possessed, he proceeds to search all over the body for the lurking place of the spirit, which, notwithstanding its invisibility, is supposed to be perfectly tangible, and to be lodged between the skin and the flesh.<sup>1</sup> As soon as the magician has discovered the spot in which the *Polong* is concealed, he exacts an oath of it to the effect that its previous replies were true, and that it will never re-enter the body of the person from whom it is about to be expelled. The sorcerer sometimes, indeed, exerts so great a power over the *Polong*, as to compel it to enter into and destroy its own master.

According to Malay accounts, the proper way to secure a *Polong* is to deposit the blood of a murdered man in a small bottle or flask, and recite sundry conjurations over it for the period of seven or fourteen days, when a noise will be heard in the bottle resembling the chirping of young birds. The operator then cuts his finger and inserts it into the bottle, when the *Polong* sucks it. This is repeated daily, and the person who thus supports the *Polong* is

<sup>1</sup> [Something analogous appears to be the Japanese belief in possession by foxes, which enter the body under the finger-nails. N.W.T.]

called its father, if a man, or its mother, if she happens to be a woman.<sup>1</sup>

The *Polong* is, I was assured, invariably preceded by its pet or plaything, the *Pelesit*,<sup>2</sup> which appears to be usually identified with a species of house-cricket, of which I was once shown a specimen by a Malay in a small glass bottle or phial. Whenever the *Polong* is commissioned by its adopted parents to attack a new victim, it sends the *Pelesit* on before it, and as soon as the latter, flying along in a headlong fashion, and usually tail foremost, enters its victim's body and begins to chirrup, the *Polong* follows.

The *Pelesit* appears to be occasionally kept either as a substitute for, or as actually identical with, the *Polong*, and I was told that it was, like the *Polong*, occasionally caught and kept in a bottle, and fed either with parched rice or with rice stained yellow with turmeric, or with blood drawn from the tip of the fourth finger, and that when its owner desired to get rid of it, it was buried in the ground. One of the most widely recognised ways of securing a *Pelesit*, which is regarded in some parts of the Peninsula as a valuable species of property, consists in exhuming the body of a child and carrying it at full moon to an ant-hill, where it is reanimated and presently lolls out its tongue; when this happens the tongue must be bitten off and buried in a place where three roads meet, when it will eventually develop into a *Pelesit*.<sup>3</sup>

The *Polong* is also sometimes identified or confused with a familiar spirit called *Bajang* in Kedah, which appears, however, to have originally been regarded as an entirely distinct conception, since its usual embodiment is stated to have been a polecat or rather civet-cat.

We have, then, in the list of Malay familiar spirits, the

<sup>1</sup> Another Malay superstition is that the blood of murdered men turns into fireflies; cf. *Malay Magic*, 329.

<sup>2</sup> [Cf. *Journal Indian Archipelago*, 307; *J. A. I.*, xxiv., 288. N.W.T.]

<sup>3</sup> [Cf. Crooke, *Introduction*, p. 360. For magic properties of tongue, cf. *Report Bur. Eth.*, 1881-2, p. 111 ff. N.W.T.]



*Polong* (or *Bajang*) and its plaything or messenger the *Pelesit*, the latter of which occasionally appears to be actually regarded in some cases as the *Polong's* embodiment, although it is more usually considered as distinct from the *Polong*. During the Cambridge Expedition of 1899 we came more than once on the track of these peculiar demons. At a village near Trengganu I succeeded, by some strategy, in obtaining a snapshot of a woman who kept a familiar spirit, but most probably she guessed that something was up, for next morning my Malay friend who had helped to arrange the matter came and told me she had just been to see him, and had complained that she had dreamed that a great white magician from over the sea had stolen away her soul. I sent her a present of a little gold dust which I had recently purchased, but even then she was only pacified with difficulty, as she complained that I had not sent her quite enough of it.

It is interesting to note the symptoms displayed by the supposed victims of the demons I have just been describing. In various Malay accounts we are told that a person possessed by a *Polong*, whether a virgin or a married woman, either falls into a death-like swoon, or cries out and loses consciousness of what he (or she) is doing, and tears and throws off his or her clothing, biting and striking bystanders, and blind and deaf to everything. A certain sign that one of these fits is coming on is for the sick person to rave about cats. When the *Polong* has been exorcised, the sick person at once recovers consciousness, but is left weak and feeble; but if the means adopted for exorcising it are unsuccessful, the person who is attacked yells and shrieks in anger, and after a day or two dies. After death blood comes bubbling forth from the mouth, and the whole body is blue with bruises.

At a place on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula I came across a different belief, viz., that in a particular species of vampire. At Patani, one of the members of the

expedition (Mr. Gwynne-Vaughan) informed me that he was walking down the main street of the town when he was stopped and asked if he wished to see some skulls. He had the presence of mind to reply in the affirmative, and was taken outside the town and there shown two skulls which had been feeding, it was alleged, upon the soul of a Malay woman. I myself then went to see them, and bought the two skulls for a couple of dollars, and brought them home.

Those who are familiar with T. Lockwood Kipling's fine work on *Man and Beast in India* will doubtless remember the beautiful specimens which he gives of the caligraphic pictures of which oriental penmen are so fond. Pictures of this kind are occasionally employed by Malay magicians for various objects, and form one of the methods adopted for guarding a house against the entry of the familiar spirits which I have been speaking. They consist, as in India, of the names of God and of various prophets, and prayers cleverly woven into a design, which is believed to furnish a complete protection against the spirits referred to.

IV. Of the ceremonies of the fourth class, viz. Possession and Devil-dancing, I have seen, perhaps, altogether about half a dozen performances, though I need scarcely remark that it is a most difficult task for a European to obtain permission to attend such ceremonies at all, and it can only be done by possessing a strong friend (so to speak) at court.

At these performances the magician and a large number of his friends and relations being assembled in the sick man's house, the magician seats himself on the ground facing an attendant who chaunts the invocation, accompanying himself upon the Malay three-stringed viol. After much burning of benzoin and scattering of sacrificial rice the spirit descends, entering the magician's body through the fontanel. The magician is at once seized with convulsive twitchings which seem to spread all over his body, and these are accompanied by a rapid rotatory motion of the



head, which he makes revolve from right to left at a tremendous pace,<sup>1</sup> shaking at the same time his shoulders and thighs, and getting more and more violent until the whole body is quaking like a jelly, thus producing an almost painfully vivid imitation of an epileptic fit. Soon, however, he falls down in a state of what is doubtless real exhaustion, and after an interval rises again and commences to dance. The entire process is repeated several times; and a quiet interval then follows, during which the magician, sitting on the ground, replies in a high, squeaky, unnatural voice to any questions that may be put to him, not merely as regards the welfare of his patient, but even as regards private and personal matters, which are of interest only to the patient's friends and relations. In the course of this catechism the magician expounds the cause and nature of the sick man's illness, as well as the remedies which should be adopted for his recovery.

Among the oracles thus delivered at a performance attended by Mr. F. F. Laidlaw and myself in Kelantan, there was one which is perhaps well worth recording. We had arranged next day to attend a Malay bull-fight, to which we had been invited by His Highness the Raja Muda. These bull-fights are not fought on the unequal lines of the spectacles called by that name in civilised Europe, but consist of a fight on equal terms between two powerful and carefully trained bulls, which seldom do each other or anyone else much injury, and which as exhibitions of strength are exciting to watch. During the catechising of the magician to which I have alluded, he was asked to give what I believe is called the "straight tip" as to the probable winner of next day's contest, and gave as his selection a bull named Awang Ranggong. On the following afternoon Mr. Laidlaw and I were sitting on the dais next to His Highness, and when the bulls were brought on the field His Highness asked me which bull I thought looked most

<sup>1</sup> [Cf. Wetterstrand, *Hypnotism*, p. 33. N. W. T.]

likely to win. Remembering the sorcerer's tip, I replied "Awang Ranggong," though I did not know one bull from the other, and in the result "Awang Ranggong" certainly won hands down, breaking his opponent's horn in a few rounds and driving him off the field in most ignominious fashion. The sorcerer's reputation as a good "judge of cattle" naturally went up, though I must confess that it would take a great deal more proof than was actually forthcoming to make me believe that there could have been anything supernatural about the sorcerer's tip. The sorcerer appeared to remember what he had said when we talked with him afterwards, and I am inclined to look upon the performance as a very clever piece of acting, the voluntary or "conscious" element being often probably far greater than is imagined.

In this connection, I see that in the papers of March 18th a case was reported of a man who had the power of increasing the pulsations of his heart to 105 per minute, and of throwing himself into apparent convulsions as a means of extracting money from soft-hearted people.

We may here leave our facts and come to the question of their interpretation. And here, as I have already said, it is the ceremonial import of the first class of ceremonies in which I am personally most deeply interested. This is a problem which cannot be answered or settled off-hand, and I propose to leave this class to be dealt with last, as I can at present only vaguely indicate what I venture to think is a possible solution. The inductive method is our only guide through the gloom, and I will therefore commence by examining the three classes of ceremonies whose import we know.

First among these come objects admittedly used for divination, and I will commence with the Divining Lemon as the most instructive ceremony of this kind. In this case we have a tree whose spirit is the object, so to speak, of a special cult; the spirit of the lemon, equally with the lemon-tree,



being looked up to and revered almost as a tutelary spirit by the travelling players of Penang. The invocations addressed to this tree show that, as in most branches of Malay magic, every part of the tree possessed its appropriate *alias*. Thus the root was called the "seated Prince," the trunk was called the "standing Prince," the bark the "Prince stretching himself," the leaves the "beckoning Prince," and so on, as in the address to the Fish-trap spirit.

To this I may add that one of the Malay methods of abducting another person's soul was by causing it to enter into a bunch of seven lime-fruits on a single stalk; that limes are used by Malays for ceremonial bathing, &c., &c. I think we have here an instance of the invocation of a vegetation spirit, whose close association with man in the minds of Malay magicians most probably originally arose from the great practical utility of the acrid juice of the lime for cleansing purposes; the divinatory power attributed to it arising out of the generally sacred character which it acquired from its happening to be used in ceremonial purification.

We next come to the Divining-rod and the Divining-sieve, both of which being inanimate as well as inert objects differ from the Divining-lemon (which is always used when fresh and green), but which are nevertheless admittedly used for divination.

Of the Divining-sieve I will say but little, as the charm employed to work it has not yet been recorded, and hence we have no information as to the kind of spirit invoked. In the case of the Divining-rod, however, the spirit invoked is that of the tree (in this case the rattan, a cane-creeper or calamus), from which the living rod was obtained. The reference in the charm is to the long feathery growing shoots of the rattan, which, armed with formidable prickles, are frequently to be seen projecting like lightning conductors or waving about in the wind, above the topmost branches of the loftiest trees in the jungle. The

Divining-rod of the Malays appears to me to be the close counterpart of the Divining-sticks of the Zulus, Maoris, Melanesians, and many others ; and I think I may say that it would not be surprising to find them all worked more or less on the same general principles.

One point that I wish to bring out in the case of the Divining-rod is that the spirit which agitates the rod is believed by the Malays to enter the magician's head, and descending through his arm and hand, to take up its quarters in the rod itself, and is not supposed to remain, as has sometimes been thought, in the body of the magician so as to guide his arm or hand. The oscillation originates with the spirit in the rod, the magician being obliged to follow so long as he grasps it, whithersoever the spirit in the rod may lead him.<sup>1</sup> It is obvious from this description that a conception of the Malay Divining-rod differs widely from a conception of the Divining-rod to be met with in Europe, where the "dowser" regards the rod merely as a convenient external index of his own inner consciousness, so that his finding water does not really depend on his use of a hazel-twigg, and any other kind of equally long and light object would do.<sup>2</sup> I believe this is not the orthodox water-finder's opinion, but at least it is a reasonable one ; and the point is that whereas in this case it is the involuntary muscular action of the man that moves the rod, the Malay idea is that the spirit in the rod, so to speak, moves the man, dragging him after it to the spot where the treasure lies hid ; which is also the view taken by the majority, and perhaps the less reasonable, of the dowsers.

The cases of the Divining-bowl and the Ring are a little different from the preceding, as they are clear instances in which the animated object is neither of animal nor vegetable origin. Nevertheless they are entirely in keeping with Malay ideas about inanimate objects, *i.e.* that they

<sup>1</sup> [Cf. Macdonald, *Africana*, I., 161. N. W. T.]

<sup>2</sup> [Cf. *Folklore*, xi., 434.]



may be, and very frequently are, possessed by spirits, and that when so possessed they may be moved by the latter's agency. It is probable that neither of the rites is of Malay origin, but unfortunately it is impossible to classify them, as we do not possess the charms.

As regards the Sendings, one of the principal ingredients of the idea underlying these ceremonies appears to consist in employing certain objects or insects which, thanks to their bizarre appearance or otherwise suggestive characteristics, have acquired an evil reputation, such as would no doubt work strongly, through suggestion, upon the minds of a superstitious people. Thus magic rites of the *Polong* or *Pelesit* types most probably owe their origin to the peculiar shape, colour, or perhaps even notes, of certain strange insects, such as the Malay lantern-fly, grasshopper, caterpillar, and house-lizard. The last-mentioned is in fact an almost certain instance, as it is regularly classed with the crocodile, obviously on account of its shape; and the same may perhaps be said of the *Tuju Jindang* or caterpillar-sending; a belief in whose attacks may perhaps account for the terror with which Malays regard a certain swelling of the foot, which they attribute to the bite of a caterpillar.<sup>1</sup>

The suggestiveness of shape comes out, however, yet more clearly in the employment of the heart-shaped blossom-tip of the banana, but most clearly of all, perhaps, in the use of arrow-points and daggers, for which, in North America and Australia, the use of the magic bone appears to be the almost universal equivalent. On the other hand,

<sup>1</sup> [These ideas, however, are not confined to insects, for in other parts of the world we find horned animals similarly employed; as for instance deer in Java, and antelope amongst the Fanti, and even harmless animals are occasionally utilised, though there are doubtless in each case special reasons for so doing. All these cases appear, however, to be merely local variations of the werwolf idea, and as such should be classed with the wer-tiger beliefs, which are held very strongly by the Peninsular Malays, and in many other parts of the Malay region. N. W. T.]

it is possible that the familiar demon called *Polong*, which is described as so minutely resembling a kris-handle, may really represent the spirit of the kris, as Mr. N. W. Thomas has suggested. Such "manufactured" spirits are, as he points out, found in America (vide *Bureau Am. Ethn.*, 1884-5, page 591. I am inclined, however, to think that more direct evidence is required on this point, and that the *Polong* and the kris-spirit are not necessarily connected.

In ceremonies of the fourth class, which include possession and exorcism, the purpose of the ceremony appears to be, in the first instance, divinatory and diagnostic; but in many cases the magician invokes the spirit of some powerful wild beast, such as the elephant or tiger, which it may be presumed is strong enough to conquer the evil spirit with which the sick man is possessed; and though the simulated struggle in such cases is often a severe one, the magician generally succeeds in carrying his purpose of frightening or driving the evil one out of the sick man's body; a form of exorcism which is obviously parallel to the practice described in the Scriptures as the driving out of devils through "Beelzebub," their "prince."

We now come to the ceremonies of the Fish-trap and Palm-blossom class. I venture to think there are good *prima facie* reasons for supposing them to have been performed, in the first instance, for a practical purpose. Stated in the form of a syllogism the argument is—

1. These particular ceremonies are animistic ceremonies.
2. All other *Malay* animistic ceremonies have some practical object.
3. These particular ceremonies should also have some practical object.

This argument, however, does not carry us very far, but I think that the best results can only be obtained by the comparative study of more or less homogeneous, as well as contiguous, groups; and perhaps the most satisfactory



way of attempting to get at the true inner meaning of these ceremonies is to compare them, not with the ceremonies of any distant and unrelated race or races, but with the ceremonies of the Jakuns of the Peninsula itself, who are an unconverted branch of this same Malayan race though in a much more backward and undeveloped state of culture.

I will take the Fish-trap first, as being the more difficult performance to explain.

The Bēsisi are one of the more important of these Jakun tribes, and I have on several occasions been fortunate enough to be present when they were engaged in their tribal feasts, which took place at the sowing of their rice-crops, as well as when the padi began to bloom, and again at the beginning, middle, and end of the rice-harvest. On occasions of this sort a simple kind of fermented liquor was brewed from various wild jungle fruits, such as the *p'rah*, and a banquet follows, after which both sexes, crowning themselves with sweet-smelling wreaths of fragrant leaves and flowers, and covering their persons with cunningly-plaited leaf-festoons and tassels, indulge in singing and dancing to a late hour, the proceedings terminating in a sexual orgy.<sup>1</sup>

Before the commencement of the banquet, when all the tribe have been called together, benzoin is burnt by the chief of the tribe, a portion of cooked rice deposited on the top of a tree-stump in the neighbouring jungle, and the spirits of the animals and insects which are designated as the "enemies of the rice" are at the same time invited to a solemn truce by the following charm which the chief himself pronounces :

"Partake, O 'Round-foot' (a taboo-name for the elephant).

Partake, O Rats,

Partake, O Blight,

<sup>1</sup> Possibly analogous to the "Bandana" ceremony in India, vide Hopkins, *Religions of India* (1896), p. 533.

Partake, O Finches,  
 Partake, O Stink-bugs,  
 Partake, O Caterpillars,  
 Partake, O Green Fly,  
 Partake, O Wild-deer,  
 Partake, O Wild-pig,  
 Partake, all of you of the top of the Year (*lit.* the Year's eldest-born)  
 I have not eaten yet,  
 But am just about to do so."

Of the songs that were chaunted, or rather *acted*, on these solemn occasions, I myself collected no fewer than thirty-six, and their character has, I think, an important bearing upon the argument. Most of them commence with an enumeration of the most striking characteristics of some particular wild animal, bird, or reptile. The singer then proceeds to describe the incidents of its pursuit by men from his own encampment, the eventual slaying of the quarry (with poisoned darts, knives, or spears, as the case may be), and the cooking and apportioning of the meat thus obtained among all the members of the tribe, "young and old, and big and little." In a number of other cases the chief characteristics of various kinds of fruit are chaunted, together with the various methods of gathering them, and their final apportionment in the same impartial manner as the flesh of the animals.

That one of the principal objects of these performances is to increase the yield of the soil appears I think from cumulative evidence, which is rather difficult to set forth adequately. Each of these songs at least concludes with a wild shout of "Fruit! fruit! fruit!" And fruit, moreover, it must be remembered, is a far more important article of food to these tribes than to ourselves. In most cases this peroration is much fuller, and distinctly specifies the kinds of fruit the productiveness of which they wish (as I think) to influence. Thus the peroration of the Roe-deer song runs:

"To dance the Roe-deer is the young folks' custom.

To-morrow and always be years of plenty,



Plenteous be our fruit, our rice-crops be plenteous.  
Fruit, fruit, fruit, fruit, hurrah !”

The conclusion of the song about the *Kledang* (a kind of fruit) runs :

“ Plenteous be durians, mangostins be plenteous.  
Plenteous the *rambai*, plenteous the *pularan*,  
Plenteous the *tampoi*, plenteous the *kundang*,  
So for nine years may fruit not fail us.”

And the conclusion of the Monkey-song runs :

“ Tell ye of the monkey, that fruit may be plenteous.<sup>1</sup>  
Fruit, fruit, fruit, fruit !”

There are, however, two other songs which refer to different subjects; the first is a Bathing-song for the little maidens of the tribe, which concludes with the following passage :

“ The ‘ little folk ’<sup>2</sup> dance within the Balei,  
Fruit be plenteous, the season plenteous,  
Fruit be plenteous, fruits that are diverse,  
Every day be fruit in plenty,  
Every month be fruit in plenty,  
Every year be fruit in plenty !  
Go not back from the solemn promise,  
From the rites that in the Book are written,  
Fruit ! fruit ! fruit ! fruit !  
Such is the custom of Jungle-dwellers,  
The custom of folk that with drink make merry.”

A passage which brings it into line with the animal and fruit songs. I think these passages are conclusive as to the connection for which I contend.

But the song that interests us most nearly is that of the Fish-trap (*lukah*), which seems to me to have a distinct relation to the Fish-trap dance of the civilised Malays.

“ *Ting ting hát* is the small-waisted Fish-trap,  
The trap that was made by Mamat Alang.  
The trap is set in the river yonder,  
Enter it, O fish, that with scales are covered.  
The *Tupah* fish, and the fish *Sabarau*,

<sup>1</sup> *Lit.*, Fruit plenteous.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.*, the maidens or girls of the tribe.

The *Ruan* fish, and the fish called *Bujer*,  
 The *Lambat* fish, and the fish *Pipuyuk*,  
 May all these enter the small-waisted Fish-trap.  
 Bear the fish home, throw them down on the hut-floor,  
 And cut them in slices, these fish so many,  
 Stew them and cook them very very carefully  
 And when you have cooked them, call your comrades,  
 And give to eat a little to everyone.  
 And when with fish you have filled your belly,  
 Rise to your feet, O *Mamat Solong*,  
 And stamp on the long floor of the *Balei*,  
 Stamp on the broad floor of the *Balei*,  
 Big sisters and little will watch you gladly.  
 Such is the rite of the small-waisted Fish-trap."

Is it so unwarrantable a conclusion to draw from all that I have said (that is, from the words of the song taken in conjunction with the character of the feast), that we here have a case of what I may perhaps be permitted to call, for want of a better name, stimulative magic, such as might be calculated to increase the effectiveness of the trap as a means of obtaining food?

If this view be taken, we may perhaps say that this form of magic has something in common with what has been called productive magic; in that the object in both cases is to increase the general store of the food of the tribe, which after all is, and must always remain, the chief consideration of these Malayan aborigines. And if so, is it too much to say that we have here a case of survival, and that the Fish-trap performance of the civilised Malays, even though its purpose may now have been forgotten, may well have taken its origin in some such practical attempt at stimulation as that I have here described? It is perhaps an important point that the Malays themselves are actually described by their old writers as indulging in periodical drinking festivals and orgies, not unlike those which are still practised by their pagan fellow-countrymen.

If I have not yet made my position altogether clear, I may say that I regard the feast itself, with the singing and dancing which accompanied it, and the sexual orgy with which it concluded, as the really important part of a probably "pro-



ductive" rite. The introduction of any given subject into the songs, although it might be essential to the proper stimulation of the object thus treated, was not essential to the rite itself, and might be omitted or inserted at will, the effect of such chaunting upon the object itself being analogous to the declared effect of what is called the laying-on of hands by a priest or bishop.

In discussing the ceremony of the dancing palm-blossom, I should, perhaps, explain that the Malays believe strongly in a seven-fold soul, which is not confined to human beings or animals, but is extended to embrace all other departments of nature, including vegetation, whether live or dead. The influence of this belief may be clearly seen in the ceremonies performed by the Malay collectors of jungle produce (such as eagle-wood, camphor, malacca cane, and rubber), in the ceremonies used for taking home the soul of the rice-plant at harvest-time, and in many other cases too numerous to mention, the object in every case being to increase the yield of some vegetable product. For example, in the ceremonies employed for making fruit-trees more productive, the magician delivers several shrewd blows upon the trunk of a tree with an axe saying:

"Will you now bear fruit or not?  
If you do not I now shall fell you."

To which the soul of the tree is supposed to reply, through the mouth of a man perched in the lower branches:

"Yes, yes, I will now bear fruit,  
Only I beg that you will not fell me."

It is unfortunately impossible to compare the ceremony of the dancing palm-blossom with any such ceremony among the Jakuns, as the latter do not plant palms and have no ceremonies connected with them. We have, however, a parallel in the charm used by the Malay manufacturers of palm-wine, who, in collecting the sap of the cocoa-nut palm, repeat the words:

"Peace be with your Highnesses, Princesses of the shorn hair and perpetual distillation;

Who are seen in the swelling and subsiding of the Blossom-sheath,  
The Blossom-sheath that is called *Si Gedebeh*,  
Seven Princesses who are Blossom-sheath's handmaidens."

The close parallelism between this latter charm and the charm employed in the ceremony of the dancing palm-blossom will, I think, be sufficiently obvious. It is, in each case, the soul or spirit of the *palm* which is invoked; in the one case that of the areca-palm, and in the other that of the cocoanut. In each case the spirit is seven-fold and female. And as in the case of the cocoanut-palm the object of the ceremony is to increase the yield of the cocoanut-palm, it seems a fair deduction to suppose that the areca-palm ceremony may once have been intended to increase the fertility of the palm in question.

In the case of the Dancing Rice-spoon described by Darwin, our information, for want of the charm, is too slight to enable us to conjecture with any certainty to which class of ceremonies the performance would belong. I should on the whole, however, be inclined to assign it to the first class, together with the ceremonies of the Dancing Pestle and Mortar, as a probable survival of a performance intended to conciliate the spirit of the rice, which, it must be remembered, is taken into the house at harvesting. The Rice-spirit itself is a good spirit, and the rice-spoon is consequently used not unfrequently as a weapon of defence against the Powers of Evil. Thus, a woman who is in labour at the time of an eclipse is seated in the doorway of the house with this implement in her hand to protect her from evil spirits. So, too, by way of protection from the spirits of the tempest, seafaring Malays are accustomed to fasten a spoon horizontally across the mast of their vessel, so that it points towards the centre of the storm cloud, repeating a charm as they do so. These last instances, however, belong to a different category, and are only cited as showing the ceremonial use of the rice-spoon as a protective implement in magic.



I trust I have now said sufficient to show at least the possibility that these "dancing" ceremonies may have originated in some custom of treating ceremonially at periodic intervals the implements and objects which are connected with the food supply of the tribe; in which case they should be regarded, of course, as survivals in magic.

The moral with which I should like to conclude is, that it is for ethnologists to try and impress upon all who are in a position to collect, the absolute and vital necessity of finally abandoning, before it is too late, the "gibberish" theory of savage incantations, an idea which I find has still plenty of vitality. In the present instance, my greatest difficulty has been throughout the insufficiency of our information in this very respect. From the point of view of language alone, the archaic forms which charms so often contain would make them worth the attention of serious students, and as a factor in the interpretation of folklore they are, when properly collected and collated, simply invaluable. It is only through the study of incantations that we can ever hope satisfactorily to settle such problems as those here raised, and I am confident that it is only through the study of incantations that we shall ever be able to decide definitely many of the knotty points which at present confront the folklorist at every turn. It is perhaps not too much to say, that we can no more hope to reconstruct savage religion on really sound lines without a close and laborious study of savage incantations, than we could hope to reconstruct Confucianism without the writings of Confucius, Mohammedanism without the Koran, or Christianity without the Scriptures. Moreover, from all of these latter there is incontestably far less of importance still remaining to be learnt by those who are interested in studying the evolutionary growth and development of the human mind, than from those products of a more untutored imagination for the study of which I appeal.

W. SKEAT.

## COLLECTANEA.

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### "LONG JU-JU" (see PLATE II.).

By the kind courtesy of the proprietors of the *Daily Graphic* we are enabled to give the accompanying sketch-plan (drawn by Reuter's Correspondent with the Aro Field Force) of the "Long Ju-Ju," which Count di Cardi (*Ju-Ju Laws and Customs of the Niger Delta*, in *J. A. I.*, vol. xxix, p. 52) describes as "the great oracle of all the tribes dwelling in the Niger Delta." "To it," he says, "all family disputes are referred, and its decision is recognised as final; it is also appealed to to decide the guilt or innocence in cases where a man of position has been accused of murder, witchcraft, or poisoning. . . . Human sacrifices are not made to this Ju-Ju after the manner of the sacrificial rites practised in Ashanti, Dahomey, and Benin. Still, a certain amount of slaughtering of human beings goes on at the Long Ju-Ju to this day, for when two men go to Long Ju-Ju for the settlement of any dispute between them, it is customary for the losing party to be destroyed by its power; but in many cases to my certain knowledge the priests have found it much more remunerative to sell the losing litigant into slavery."

Only one man among such slaves questioned by the Count expressed a wish to return home; the others "being satisfied that their own people would never acknowledge they were anything else but spirits." Count di Cardi's own ship was considered to be so thoroughly defiled by the presence of "the spirit of a man from Long Ju-Ju" (namely, the exceptional man just mentioned), that none of the natives would visit the vessel till the Ju-Ju King had "made ju-ju" on board.

The ensuing descriptions of the place by correspondence with the Aro expedition supplement each other, and seem well worth



putting on record here. We quote the following from the *Morning Post*, 21st January, 1902 :—

“Arochuku, Christmas Day, 1901.

“Colonel Montanaro entered Arochuku with No. 4 Column, under the command of Major Heneker, on Christmas Eve, driving the enemy in front of him. The town itself was occupied without resistance, but beyond the town constant fighting has taken place between our advance posts and the enemy. Arochuku, which is the chief town of the hitherto unconquered Aro nation, is very extensive, occupying an area of about five square miles. For a race who are supposed to possess, for West Africans, remarkable intelligence, as instanced by the long lines of the admirably-constructed trenches which opposed our advance, surprise was generally expressed at the filthy state of the houses in the town,<sup>1</sup> and as the town will now be permanently occupied by the British, Montanaro decided on sanitary grounds to burn the whole place and to construct bush houses for his troops. The destruction of the town was carried out under a dropping fire from the enemy. The famous bogey called the “long ju-ju” lies about half a mile from the east entrance into the town of Arochuku. The six chiefs who are now prisoners in our camp describe “the long ju-ju” as the “life and breath of the Omo-chuku” (*Anglice*—Sons of the Great God, *i.e.*, the people who inherit Arochuku). The “long ju-ju” is approached by narrow a path with very thick bush on either side. The path ends in a small clearing, and at the far end of this is a large grass and cloth screen. On the other side of this is the mouth of a deep gorge about forty yards long, thirty yards wide, with almost perpendicular sides seventy feet high. At the bottom of the gorge is a running stream, on either side of which altars are erected, which are adorned with skulls, white fowls, &c., while on one of them a white goat was tied down

[<sup>1</sup> Compare Miss Kingsley's account of negro habits (*West African Studies*, p. 422): “Africa, so far as I know it, namely, from Sierra Leone to Benguela, smells generally rather strong, but particularly so in those districts inhabited by the true negro. This pre-eminence the true negroes attain to by leaving the sanitary matters of villages and towns in the hands of Providence. The Bantu culture looks after the cleaning and tidying of the village streets to a remarkable degree, though by no means more clean in the houses, which, in both cultures, are quite as clean and tidy as you will find in England.”—E. S. H.]

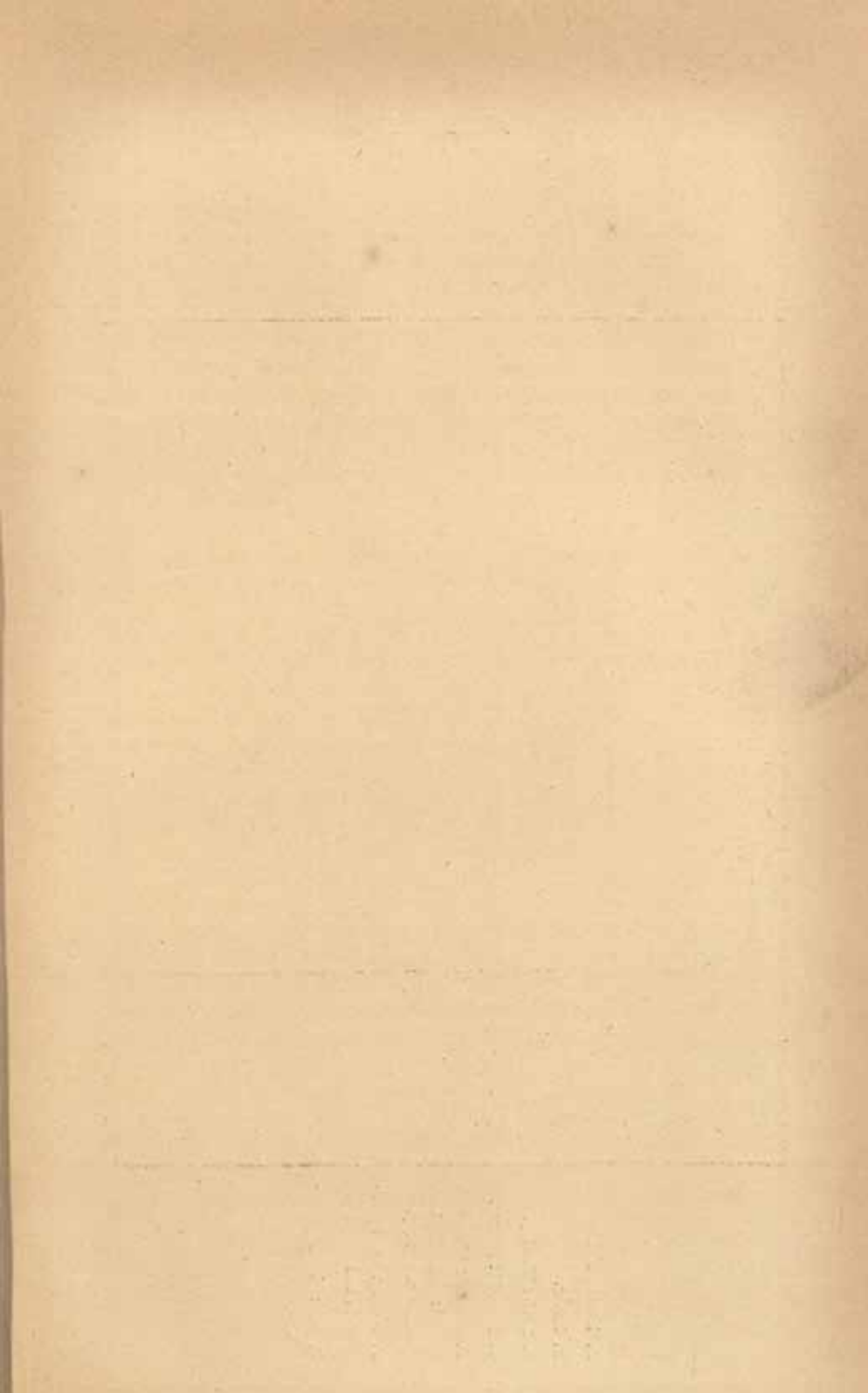
and dying from starvation. This last was apparently the latest sacrifice of the priest, and presumably intended as representing the defeat of the white man.<sup>1</sup> Further on there are two more screens similar to the first, and inside the second one is a small island, on which there is an altar with about fifty guns stuck in it, and decorated with skulls and the usual "ju-ju" horrors. About fifteen yards from the last screen the ravine ends abruptly, and here water bubbles out from a spring which feeds the stream. Over the place where the water comes out is a large roof made of human skulls, with which trophy nearly everything in the ravine is adorned. Under the roof and almost touching the water hangs a large curtain of grass and cloths, but there is nothing behind it. One of the skulls is fairly fresh—being the head of a victim sacrificed two months ago—and naturally it smells horribly. In the water are a lot of large grey tame fish with big yellow eyes, which come up and smell your feet and legs. The main wealth of the Aro nation is derived from slaves, and the "long ju-ju" is used as a bait to entrap confiding and superstitious natives. People come from all parts to consult the "ju-ju," and most of them never get further than the small cleared place in front of the first screen, as they are seized and smuggled away, being afterwards sold into slavery. If at any time an unusually large number of people come to consult the oracle, one or two are sacrificed as a thank-offering, but in a thriving commercial community like the Ono-chuku it is wasting money to kill a slave. The slaves are divided among the fourteen elders of the Aro nation, each elder receiving a certain proportion, and any slaves over and above are sacrificed. The outside world is made to believe that everyone taken to consult the 'ju-ju' is eaten up by it."

Reuter's correspondent accompanies his plan (Plate II.) with the following description (*Daily Graphic*, 24th January, 1902):—

"The approach to the Long Ju-Ju is through dense bush, which gradually becomes thicker and thicker until one arrives at the entrance of a deep oval-shaped pit, seventy feet deep, sixty yards long, and fifty yards wide. One then climbs down the precipitous sides of the rock into a narrow gorge and into running water, up which one wades, passing under two fences, until one

[<sup>1</sup> Caution must be exercised in receiving this conjecture.—E. S. H.]









finally comes to a place where the water comes out of the solid rock in two big streams, which unite below a small island, on which are two altars, one made of many trade guns, stuck muzzle downwards into the ground and topped with skulls, the other being of wood and supporting more skulls, bones, feathers, blood, eggs, and other votive offerings to the Ju-Ju, including the head of the last victim. Over the rock, where is the source of the water, is a roof of human skulls with a curtain, the top part of which is composed of clothes and the lower part of native matting, screening the rock and hanging just short of the water's edge. The lower portions of the rock composing the other side of this crater are draped with mats only. On the left of the entrance, centrally situated, and opposite the island, has been hewn out of the rock a flat-topped ledge for sacrificial purposes. The water, about twelve inches deep, is full of tame grey-coloured fish, about two feet in length, with long suckers and glaring yellow eyes, which have a most bizarre appearance as they glide noiselessly through the clear water in the dim light of this charnel-house of fetish lore, which is roofed with densely intertwined creepers. These fish are regarded as sacred. On the left of the exit lies another pile of human skulls and other relics of Ju-Ju rites, and on the left the last sacrifice—a white goat, trussed up in the branches of a palm tree and starving to death. The conducting of a visitor to the Ju-Ju is usually a somewhat lengthy process, and when he arrives in its proximity he is led by a circuitous route and finally marched in backwards. It would seem to be a fair estimate to put the number of pilgrims down at about five hundred annually, all of whom pay dearly for the advice or decree which is vouchsafed to them. Probably the number of human sacrifices does not reach a total of fifty per annum, while about 200 people are sold into slavery, and the remainder are allowed to go away free.

An officer with the Aro Field Force subsequently sent to the *Daily Graphic* an outline drawing of the place, which was published on the 10th February. It does not seem quite to tally with the descriptions, but the sketcher's observations add something to the previous accounts. He writes:—

“The story of how the Aro chiefs played on the superstition of the Ibo and other races, luring them to consult the mysterious being (or god) who lived in the spring, is, I suppose, well known.

The result, of course, was that the supplicants were either sold into slavery at Bende and the Misi Aro slave-markets, or, if old and unfit for slavery, or even too powerful chiefs, they were sacrificed. All sorts of stories are told of this mystery. Hundreds of people visited the place yearly, and never returned. Some who never absolutely saw the grotto, being blindfolded, stood in the water by the cave, and heard mysterious voices talking all round them, while the catfish nibbled at their feet and splashed about in the pool. If they were to die the water was supposed to pour out of the source the colour of blood. This was probably done by some rascally old priest inside the cavern. There is an entrance into the cavern at the back of the Ju-Ju, and there are to be seen the scaffold and sacrificial knife. The most loathsome thing about the place is the altar of skulls, the stack of captured arms, surmounted by a skull, and the alligators and catfish, which were fed after the sacrifices."

"Very, very little," says Count de Cardi, writing to us, "has ever come to light as to what was actually carried on at the spot, and now that the whole place has been destroyed and the fetish priests scattered, I am afraid no more complete account will ever be compiled."—Ed.

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FOLKLORE NOTES FROM ST. BRIAVEL'S.

*(Read at Meeting, 26th March, 1902.)*

The village and common of St. Briavel's stand on the edge of the Dean Forest, and though the common has long been enclosed, the old castle of the Constables is still the scene of Courts Leet, and the Crown officers go round yearly to spy out encroachments and the ravages of disforestable beasts. Seeing that the forest was at one time a sort of gathering place for gypsies, outlaws, and other turbulent folk, it is only natural that the present race should be small, dark, and untidy, whereas the people of the more fertile country are fair and rather pale. They are all expert poachers, but, outside the mining centres, share little interest in games or sports. Flower gardens, such as delight one in Kent, are



of the rarest occurrence, and generally belong to a "foreigner," that is, any person from another county. Such folklore as I have collected comes from my own village, or from places within six miles' distance. With the miners I am not in touch, and so could get nothing from them.

Tradition has it that St. Briavel, after whom the place was named, was once a Cornish king of such exceeding wickedness that his subjects rose and drove him out. After many wanderings he came to the Wye Valley, and, settling down, became a hermit, acquiring by his holiness great power over the wolves and other wild beasts of the forest. The site of his supposed hermitage is still known. A few stones in a wood go by the name of St. Margaret's Chapel, and to her the church is dedicated, but I have been unable to find out anything more about her. St. Briavel's Wells are three excellent springs on the hilltop, but have no connection with the Saint, who lived in the warm damp valley.

Offa's Dyke runs through the country side and is still plainly traceable, rising in some places to a height of fifteen feet, though almost ploughed away in others. The people call it the Devil's Dyke, but have no stories about it; nor have I been able to find any meanings for the queer names given to the different parts of the village—such as the Mork, the Meen, or Tumpkin's Ailes.

There are old Roman iron workings near by, with a Devil's Chapel and a Devil's Kitchen; also a stone put up to commemorate the murder of one of the Constables of the Forest (this bleeds *if* you stick a pin into it); and many other interesting places. These do not, however, belong properly to St. Briavel's.

Of the local omens, charms, folk-medicine, customs and sayings, witchcraft and fairy legends, most will probably be known already to the Society, but one or two things are, I think, new.

First comes the usual list of crows or magpies: one, for ill; two, for good; three, a disappointment; four, a letter; five, something better; six, a wedding; seven, a burying. But there is a small local variant which says that although one crow in the morning brings ill-luck and two good, yet one after dinner brings good fortune.

If a bee comes into the house, a stranger will soon arrive. In the spring, if you see the first young lamb back first, it is unlucky, you will go backwards all the year.

The small egg first laid by a pullet should never be brought

into the house, but should be thrown over the roof, that the ill-luck may pass over the household.

When there is a letter in the candle, you thump on the table until the spark falls off—so many thumps, so many days before the letter will arrive.

It is very unlucky to be offered money for any object ; if a fair price be offered you should sell, as ill will come if you refuse.

It is "dreadful bad luck" to put a lanthorn on the table, but if you should have done so foolish a thing, throw salt on the fire, "for if you do waste the salt, you stop the luck." This applies also to other ill-omened actions.

There is a curious and unexpectedly tidy custom of drawing a line of white round the walls of the living-room and round the top doorstep, or the stone sill should there be no steps. The line must be unbroken, for then the evil spirits cannot enter the house.

Should you be troubled by unexplained illness and death amongst your pigs, you should bury the poor victims toes upwards, and the trouble will cease.

There are various death-omens ; for instance, should an owl sit on the roof and whoop, or if a bird enters the house, or even when one "fetches up" against the windows, it bodes ill. "An old man did die along of Louie Jones, and I could not drive that bird away along until him was dead," as an old woman told me in proof of this last omen. A winding sheet in the candle of course bodes ill, and should you hear a sound like the stroke of a stick on a chair, you may be certain that there will be a death in the family shortly. Finally, should it thunder and lighten at a funeral, it does not speak well for the future happiness of the deceased.

*Weather sayings* are few and commonplace—cats playing about, cows lying down, valley-fog climbing the hill, all mean rain. When the mist lies flat, there will be hot weather. Pigs can smell the wind, and geese flying over forecast rough weather at sea.

*Medicine* of course comes naturally to the seventh son of a seventh son, but if your child has whooping-cough, and you do not wish to consult a doctor, wait until you meet a man leading a piebald horse, "and whatever him do say will cure the cough." Or pass the sickly child nine times over and under a bramble that is rooted at both ends.



To secure freedom from toothache you should always carry in your pocket one of those mossy balls that are often found growing on wild rose trees. We used to call them "King o' the Roses." I do not know the real name.<sup>1</sup> But if you *have* toothache, it can be cured by sitting under an ash-tree and cutting your toe-nails.

The forefoot of an unt (or mole) should be carried as a preservative against rheumatism, and a drink of Barrow Well water, on going to bed, is good for a cold.

A Good Friday cake is good for internal troubles. You grate a little into water, and take it so. There is nothing special about the making of this cake, except the date, nor *is* it cake in the ordinary sense, being merely a lump of dough from the usual baking. The remnants left over are always made into small, flat, cheese-shaped loaves called "batch-cakes," and I fancy the Good Friday cakes are of the same type.

The following charms are used, first, to prevent a wound from festering, the second, to stop the flow of blood. They should be said "over" the injured part :—

*Charm for a Thorn.*—Our Saviour was born in Bethlehem, pierced with spears, nails, and thorns. Whose wounds never gathered, smarted, nor festered, no more than this thorn. In the name of the Father [etc.]. Amen.

*Charm for Blood.*—Our Saviour was born in Bethlehem, baptised by John the Baptist in the river of Jordan. Although the waters was wild the waters was good. Christ commanded the waters to stand and the waters stood—so stand this blood. Ribaduck<sup>2</sup> go no more. In the name of God, I stop this blood. Amen.

The *Local Customs* are some of them very commonplace, such as sitting up with a corpse until it be buried, and opening all the windows of the house where it lies, that the spirit may escape. But instead of telling the bees of a death, they lift the hives as the corpse is raised to go to the churchyard. If this be neglected, they will die. On Cox Hill there is a stone, where burying parties always rest and set down the corpse. Up to this point volunteers may carry the coffin, but thence to the churchyard the proper bearers take up their duty.

St. Thomas' Day is locally known as "Gooding Day," for then

<sup>1</sup> [The gall of the wild rose, formed by the insect *Cynis Rose*, is what is meant.—ED.]

<sup>2</sup> I cannot explain this word. It was not given when the charm was repeated to me, but appeared in the written copy sent me afterwards.

poor people go from house to house begging: "Please to give against a good day." Wheat for bread was often given.

On Christmas Eve at midnight, the cattle kneel and the rosemary bursts into flower—"people used to sit up to see it, down in the Meen." It is also said that where the rosemary grows well "the mistress is master."

First foot, either on Christmas or New Year's Day, should be a man, for luck's sake.

Those watching in a churchyard between twelve and one at night on New Year's Eve, will see the people who are to die within the year.

On New Year's Day you should get the newest pin you can and drop it in the water, "because it is the blood of Christ." I can get no explanation of this saying.

There is a very pretty custom that is now dying out, which I can, however, illustrate by an exhibit,<sup>1</sup> of presenting on New Year's Day, what they call "The gift." It is an apple set on three wooden legs, and having a sprig of box, hung with hazel nuts, stuck into it after the manner of a Christmas tree.

In old days, it used to be customary to light twelve small fires in the cornfields on Christmas Eve that there might be a good crop.

On old New Year's Day you should burn the Christmas holly.

On "Soft Tuesday" there should be pancakes.

Mothering Sunday is a well-established custom with us, and the following is Fathering Sunday. Sweet cakes are made for both occasions.

Palm Sunday is called "Flowering Sunday," and all graves are dressed with flowers. It is a very pretty sight, and there is some rivalry between the different villages as to which shall turn out the best decorated churchyard. Parties go round visiting from church to church, looking and comparing.<sup>2</sup> I was told the origin of the custom is this: "It says in the Bible, that the day Jesus Christ was buried, people strewed palm-leaves on the road

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, p. 115; *infra*, p. 202; and the *Report of International Folklore Congress*, 1891, p. 452.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> [Noted in Wales by Mr. A. J. C. Hare, *Life of Baroness Bunsen*, ii., 392; and a sporadic (?) instance at Albrighon, near Wolverhampton, *Shropshire Folklore*, 330.—Ed. I am quite familiar with the custom, which is practised everywhere in Wales.—E. S. H.]



they were taking Him, and made wreaths and crosses of them, and they called it Palm Sunday."

"Cursed is the woman that wash and dry of a Good Friday."

People used to run for dresses and little things at Easter and Whitsuntide, but now we have a regular sort of fair, called the "Revels," at which there are races.

The Society knows, from Mr. Hartland's *Gloucestershire Folklore*, that we rejoice in a local variant of the Godiva story, and that from the reign of John the Commoners have had certain rights in the free wood of Hudnalls. The Society has also read that it was customary to throw bread and cheese to be scrambled for on Whit Sunday. The connection between the two is this: "The Lady did give it, and the bread and cheese was throwd a' Whitsun Sunday to keep this charter up. People did go round the houses to collect a penny each to buy the bread and cheese."

*Ghosts* there are in plenty. The Castle naturally has its White Lady and its Man in Armour. At Lindors there is a phantom fiddler. "Things with eyes like saucers" and men in "they old box-hats" are met in the lanes, and funerals are seen at three a.m. of a summer's morning.

*Witchcraft* is still a power, and I will begin by telling you how to become a witch; it is fairly easy, as all you need to do is to walk twelve times round a church backwards, at midnight. Then when you are a witch you can "run" as a hare or a rabbit. Witches used to tie the manes and tails of the horses at Lindors. If a witch be refused anything at a house, she will have revenge on the animals or children, and will cause them to bleed to death or become paralysed. To prevent a witch from coming into the house, nail a cross of quicken (hawthorn) behind the door, or a yew stick, and plant quicken-trees near your yards and pig-cotes. To find out a witch, get a piece of leather, and fill it with pins; stick them in different ways, and burn it. At the time of burning, the person who is the witch will come to the door.

There is now a very malevolent witch in the village of Whitebrook, who brings to sorrow those who do not cheerfully give her whatever she may ask for. One poor woman refused some request, whereupon the dame swore that the ungenerous creature should lose all her cows. Now, she *had no* cattle. But so great was the power of the curse that she went mad, and wanders about the

woods seeking and calling the phantom cows that she thinks herself to have lost.

Again, in St. Briavel's itself, some years ago a cottager offended his neighbours, and one fine Sunday afternoon when he and his family tried to re-enter their cottage after a walk, they found the door so fast shut that it had finally to be broken open with a pickaxe. This was undoubted witchcraft.

The vicar of the neighbouring parish of Newlands one day called his man in from mowing the hay to see to something that was needed in a hurry. To his surprise, instead of coming at once, the man stopped to carefully sharpen the scythe, and to set it aside, edge upwards. On his return he said to the parson, "You don't know why I sharpened my scythe before going? I'll tell 'ee. If I'd ha' left that there scythe unsharpened, look see, and an old witch had come along and seen it, she'd ha' rid that scythe round and round the field, and it wouldn't never have had no edge to cut with no more!" "And I went from there," said the clergyman, in telling the story, "to the churchwarden's house, and found him, with all his family, standing round making charms to make the butter come."

Old people have told me various tales of witches in their young days; how they gave charms that were better than any doctor's stuff, and notably one story of how a young girl put up for the night with a widow and her daughter. The cottage was small and the guest shared her hostess's bed. It was a fearful night and the noise of the storm kept the young girl awake. In her restless turning, her hand happened to touch the old woman, who was stone-cold, and in her horror she cried out: "Oh! your mother be dead." "Dead," laughed the daughter, "her ben't *dead*, her be out and about now!"

Passing from Witches to *Fairies*, the belief is weaker. They have not been seen for many years, though they used to dance in the Mork, and were "like little soldiers." But we can boast of one fairy-tale which is, I think, quite local.

There was once a farmer of the name of John Jones, who lived in the Mork. He had had a bad year and was hard put to it to pay his rent, so he decided to sell some cider, and started out with the intention of offering it round. As he left the house he met a man who said, "John, do you want to sell some cider?" "Yes," said John, and after some discussion they settled on a



price. "Very well," said the man, "now this is what you must do. Carry a hogshead of cider down to the Fairy Ring in the Big Meadow, and pour it out there on to the grass within the ring." With that he paid and went away. As soon as he was gone, the farmer began to think what a shame it was to waste so much good cider, and the more he thought the less he felt inclined to do it. He had the money safe, and the Fairy Folk would never know the difference, so when evening came he rolled down a hogshead of water and poured that out within the ring. No sooner, however, did he step outside the ring than he saw the same man who had bargained with him in the morning, very angry and threatening. He cursed John Jones and all his family, saying that as he had tried to cheat, the curse should not be lifted until he and his had lost as much blood as water had been poured down the ring. "And they *do* say," my informant told me cheerfully, "as how a power o' that family did bleed to death!"

There is only one nursery rhyme that I have found, and to my mind it explains why some of the local babies look so pale and sad.

"By, By, Baby Bunting,  
Your Daddy gone a-hunting,  
Your Mammy gone the other way  
To beg a jug of sour whey  
For little Baby Bunting."

I will conclude with a rhyme obviously composed by our envious neighbours.

"St. Briavel's stands upon a hill.  
It has a church without a steeple,  
Looks down on the River Wye,  
With most deceitful people."

L. M. EVRE.

#### HARVEST CUSTOMS.

(*Ante*, vol. xii., p. 215, and *supra*, p. 113.)

Continuing my notes on Berwickshire Harvest Customs, I send the following extracts from a letter of Mr. W. Lockie of Kelso, recently forwarded to me by Mr. A. Falconer of Duns.

"In reference to cutting the last straws of corn during harvest at Spottiswoode (Westruther parish) the term 'cutting the queen' was almost as often used as 'cutting the kirm.' The process of cutting the kirm at Spottiswoode was as follows. After dinner on the rig, all the shearers being assembled, one of the shearers submitted himself to be blindfolded; then a reaping-hook was put into his hand. After being turned twice or thrice about by his brother shearers, he was ordered to go and cut the 'kirm.' His bamboozlement in failing to reach the standing corn as well as his often going in the opposite direction and cutting imaginary straws added greatly to the hilarity. After he had tired himself out or given up his task as hopeless, another man took his place; this continued until the 'kirm' was cut. The successful competitor was tossed up in the air with 'three times three' on the arms of his brother harvesters. To decorate the room in which the kirm supper was held at Spottiswoode as well as the dancing-room (granary) two women on the Spottiswoode estate every year made 'kirm dollies' or 'queens.' From the great number of kirm-suppers and dances held at Spottiswoode the large number of kirm dollies looked like a rustic portrait gallery." [This implies that the kirm queens were kept from year to year.]

"In Westruther parish it was considered a most unlucky thing for a mower or shearer during hay or corn harvest to cut with his scythe or reaping hook while making his first swathe a grey or coloured snail through the middle. Such a thing was looked upon as making the scythe or hook so blunt that in spite of the most prodigious efforts the worker might make his whole day's work would be effectually retarded. The only way to break the spell was to leave work and go home and rest for that day. An old man, now dead many years, who was parish beadle, firmly believed in that. If he cut a snail in the morning he immediately knocked off and went home saying 'his scythe was as blunt as a bittle' (an instrument used for beating or beetling clothes) 'and wodna cut a winnelstrae' (flower-stalk, or withered grass). The reason he assigned was that grey or coloured snails as well as grey cats were great favourites of the fairies. He said the fairies often held their revels in the stubble-fields. The harvesters coming early to work often disturbed the fairy revels, upon which the fairies, to conceal themselves, hid in the shells of the snails; the latter always making room for them. He said if you cut a grey or



coloured snail the fairies cast a spell on the scythe for the rest of the day. The only way to remove this was, by leaving work, thereby showing your sorrow for the offence. If you did this and were careful not to injure a snail the next morning you would have one of the luckiest of days, which would quite make up the previous day's loss."

I was not previously aware that the snail was in any way associated with harvest customs. It is not, I think, mentioned by Mr. Frazer. I shall be glad to know whether any members of the Society have met with it in this connection elsewhere.

ALICE B. GOMME.

Mr. J. G. Frazer in the *Golden Bough* quotes (ii., 264) an expression used in the north-east of France. "When a harvester, through sickness, weariness, or laziness, cannot or will not keep up with the reaper in front of him, they say, 'The White Dog passed near him,' 'He has the White Bitch,' or 'The White Bitch has bitten him.'"

I remember, when living at Culham, near Oxford, some fifteen to twenty years ago, hearing almost exactly the same expression used by (among others) a labourer, whom I know well, and who used it at lay-time of anyone who was lazy in the hayfield. My impression, however, was that the saying was "He has *lost* that little White Dog," and accordingly I took the opportunity of seeing the man in question at Culham this last December and asking him what the expression was and what it meant. At first he could not remember much about it, and was inclined to think that the form "he has lost the Little White Dog" was the phrase used, but on my happening to see him again a few days later he told me he had since remembered it all, and the usual expression was "He's got the Little White Dog." (I took these words down verbatim at the time; this also applies to all of the following that is between inverted commas.) He added that they "used to say it sometimes in haymaking," chiefly at harvest and hay time and "when the weather's hot," of a lazy man, "or one as wouldn't work;" but the expression was sometimes used on other occasions. It is still in occasional use I understand. "Some say 'the Dog got 'old of 'ee,' you know; that means you can't get to work." Again "they say sometimes 'the Lawrence got 'im; it means

just the same thing." He said he did not know what the "Dog" or the "Lawrence" meant. The latter, he told me, was meant for the proper name.

I should explain that I was most careful to ask no leading questions and to mention no other form of the saying to him than the one which he had at first on the spur of the moment thought to be the right one (viz. "he has *lost* that Little White Dog"), so that it may be taken as certain that the form which he gave afterwards, "He's got the Little White Dog," is the correct one, and that it could not have been suggested by what I said. There seems no reason to doubt then that we have here a true parallel to the French examples given in the *Golden Bough*, although they are used at harvest time, whereas in the Oxfordshire case the use is more general.

E. H. BINNEY.

3, Tackley Place, Oxford.

The following particulars were told me in the June of 1898, in Oxfordshire, by our landlady, who was then just over 70 years of age. When a little girl, there was in her village (Ducklington, near Witney) an old farmer who was, she thought, the last in the parish to observe the ceremony. On the last night of harvest, when the last load was to be carted, it was the custom to send down to the field a number of band-boxes containing women's dresses and a good deal of finery for the men and horses. Four young men then dressed themselves up, two to represent women, and they sat in couples on the four horses that drew the load. Some of the village children sat on the top of the load (my informant said that she and her sisters had often done so), and on reaching the house were treated to cakes, &c. The old farmer himself was bedridden, and lay on the ground floor of the house. On these occasions his bed was drawn up to the window, and the wagon stopped in front of it for the old man to see, but as the window was small they had to stop three times for him to see both pairs of horses and the wagon. After this I believe the men had a supper.

CLARA J. JEWITT.



## BOER FOLK-MEDICINE AND SOME PARALLELS. II. •

*(Continued from p. 75.)*

In the Blue-book entitled *Further Papers relating to the Working of the Refugee Camps in South Africa*, in the report on the Bloemfontein camp, Dr. Kendal Franks writes: "We know that in the United Kingdom, amongst the lowest classes, the ideas regarding the treatment of the sick and the remedies employed are primitive in the extreme, and some of them belong to the period of the dark ages. But these primitive, ignorant, and frequently revolting methods are almost universal among the Boers, and are found among every class. I found many instances of it in the camp at Bloemfontein. There is here a Mr. J. Kruger, a nephew of the ex-president. Being a man of superior intelligence he has been selected for one of the higher offices in the camp. One day he told the superintendent that his wife was suffering a good deal from rheumatism, and he requested Mr. Randle to use his influence with Dr. Baumann to allow him to give his wife a cow-dung bath, which he stated was 'the best thing for rheumatism.' Mr. Randle one day visited Abram Strauss, a man who had been selected as one of the head-men of the camp, and in virtue of his office was housed in a marquee. Mr. Randle was surprised to see a cat running about the tent with all its fur clipped off. He inquired the cause, and was informed that the fur had been cut off and roasted and then applied to his child's chest as a remedy for bronchitis. Dr. Pern, the medical officer, told me that he was once sent for to see a child who was ill in one of the tents. When he entered the tent, for some moments he could not make out what he saw. He then discovered that the parents had killed a goat and cut it open, removing all the internal organs. They had then put the child bodily inside the goat, with its head alone protruding through the opening made by removing the breast-bone."

A favourite remedy for jaundice, Dr. Franks found, "is to rub the patient's body with cabbage seeds. The seeds are then sown. When they come up the jaundice disappears. The tooth of a horse worn on a string round the neck is believed to cure rheu-

matism. A piece of potato put into each ear and a necklace made of square pieces of the same is said to cure earache. Toothache is cured by cutting the finger- and toe-nails of the sufferer off short. These parings are put into a bottle with a lock of his hair and some water. The bottle is then corked and buried and the toothache disappears. A black fowl opened and applied hot and bleeding to the chest is a cure for inflammation of the lungs. These are only samples of treatment culled from the experiences of the medical officers in the Bloemfontein camp;" (p. 7).

*Parallels.*—Some years ago I knew a woman who told me the best cure for inflammation of the lungs was to take a full-grown fowl (cock or hen), chop off its head and cut open the body, then place it at once on the patient's chest and keep it there for two hours, or as long as there is heat in the body of the fowl. She explained that the feathers on the bird kept the heat in a way nothing else could do, and the thicker the feathers and healthier the bird, the better would be the cure.

Many members of the Society will remember that at the time, about thirty years ago, when the King (then Prince of Wales) was suffering from typhoid fever, it was asserted that the only cure would be to wrap him in a sheep's skin immediately after it had been taken from the animal while still quite hot, all the wool of course being left on. It was believed by many people at the time that this remedy was actually used and was the means of saving the Prince's life. Only a short time since, during the illness of the Queen of Holland, I heard it referred to as a matter beyond doubt. I had a note of this remedy of the sheepskin being used for the cure of "the shivers" (*i.e.* the ague), but have unfortunately mislaid it and cannot remember when and where the case occurred.

The remedies used by the Boers for jaundice, toothache, and earache are practically the same as those in use some years ago in many parts of England, and recorded in various collections of folklore. The cat plays an important part in folk-medicine, but I do not remember an instance of its hair being cut off and applied in the manner described.

A. B. GOMME.

In the earlier years of the last century my father knew a Mrs. Wells who lived not far from Gainsborough. She was the



wife of a considerable landowner, and from what I have heard I presume had received a good education. She had five or six children, and there were in the household many servants, as Mr. Wells was a farmer on a large scale. She told my father, evidently without having any notion that she was exposing her ignorance, that she kept by her two bottles, into one of which she poured what was left of the doctor's medicine which had been prescribed to be taken internally, and into the other the remainder of such lotions as had been sent. She assured my father that she herself and those dependent on her had many times profited by the use of these strange blends. (Cf. *supra*, p. 73.)

I do not think that the practice of mixing medicines intended for different diseases was at all uncommon in Lincolnshire in former days, and from remarks which I have heard, I believe it to be still not infrequently done, though I confess that I have not satisfactory evidence in proof thereof.

EDWARD PEACOCK.

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#### GOBLINS.

##### I. *In Chitral.*

I received the following lately from a young officer who was quartered at Chitral for some time. It is interesting to meet again with the "back-footed" beings on whom M. Gaidoz bestowed so much learning in *Mélusine*.

A. LANG.

"Fairies in that part of the world [the Chitral valley] are only of one sort—bad; which rather limits the field. Their abode was on the slope of a gigantic snow-peak, 26,000 feet above the sea, Tirich Mir by name. This they made their headquarters, and many of the inhabitants of the valley 'allowed' they had seen them flitting to and fro on their marauding expeditions, some on horseback, some on foot, of both sexes, and usually clad in white.

Strange to say, they had no knee or ankle-joints, and their feet grew to the rear instead of to the front.

"There appears also to be a kind of Banshee in Chitral, which wails round the walls of Shoghrot Fort, a week or so before the death of the Melitar or King of Chitral, and differs from the Irish variety in not being [? haunting] a residence of the doomed man."

## II.—In the Farøe Islands.

[The following notes are from the pen of an American lady who has been spending the last ten or twelve months in one of the most northerly and inaccessible of the Farøe Islands. The allusion in the opening sentence is to her correspondent's previous reference to the Rev. J. G. Campbell's *Superstitions of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, p. 191, where he classes "the Niägruisar of the Farøe Islands" with the Scottish Brownie, as a "drudging goblin."—ED.]

I think your Niägruisar must be the same word as our Niðagrísur, but the Farøe creature is *not* a Brownie. A Brownie is a *Vattnir*; he lives about houses and cow-stalls, and comes out in the twilight and sits under the eaves, and careful housewives when they throw out the dishwater call out a warning to him and his fellows. Like the Brownie he, if well-treated, will perform little friendly services for the family.

A Niðagrísur is the spirit of an unbaptised child (generally a murdered illegitimate child), that takes the shape of a round-bodied creature that often goes on all-fours and is as a rule malignant, lying in wait for people in the dark and doing them harm, though just how I have not learned. Sometimes they haunt a pastor, begging to be given a name, and to be buried in sanctified earth; a former pastor here was haunted in that way. Long ago, a servant-girl here had an illegitimate child, killed it, and buried it in a stocking belonging to a serving-man called Píslí (he was not the father). Some time afterwards she married Píslí; and the bride's dance was under way in the big kitchen



when suddenly a Niðagrísur rolled into the circle, and danced about, singing :—

“ My mother bears gold,  
I dance in wool,  
I dance in Píslí's hose.”

(It rhymes in Faröese). Then he ran on all-fours to his mother; but she fainted, and the festivities were at an end. I think this little tale must go back to the days when brides wore at the wedding dresses embroidered with gold thread, as they do still in Iceland.

Your black dog is common here.<sup>1</sup> He can be a *Nikkur* (a wicked water-spirit) who has taken that shape, or a Troll, or the spirit of a dead enemy who has come to haunt or avenge a wrong. He often carries a light at the end of his tail. Somehow that light seems a very chilling touch.

On “Old Holy Kings' Night” [Old Twelfth Night] black troll-bulls come up from the sea and visit the byres. Dreka was afraid to go to milk that night, and had to ask Joanna to go with her.

If a girl wishes to know the name of her future true-love, she must go out some very dark night quite naked, taking with her her *sark*, dip it into running water (there is always a little burn close by), wring it out, and put it, rolled up, under her pillow. Then she will dream of him.

ELIZABETH TAYLOR.

Videreide i Videro (Faröe Islands),  
January 29th, 1902.

<sup>1</sup> [“We had an old nurse, who was sixty years in the family, and when any of the nursery party showed signs of temper, she would exclaim: ‘Lord sake! there's that black dog again! Wait till I get haud o' him!’ After a protracted struggle at the child's back, which usually ended in a laugh, the ‘dog’ was flung downstairs and serenity restored. Mrs. ——— tells me that her old Barbadoes nurse had the same habit:” writes the Lowland Scottish lady to whom this interesting letter was addressed. “I think you have got the black dog on your back” is, or was, said in rebuke to cross or sulky (rather than passionate) children in some English nurseries also.—ED.]

III. *In the Isle of Man.*

I gathered the following folklore during a holiday in the Isle of Man in the summer of 1887. It has not, I believe, appeared in print before, except in a contribution of my own to the *Brighton Herald*, 31st December, 1887.

One evening during the summer months of 1884, the driver of the mail-cart from one of the towns in the island started on his rounds to collect the mail-bags from the surrounding district in the usual manner. He was due at his destination about half-past one o'clock in the morning, but did not arrive until nearly half-past five, when he appeared dreadfully scared and agitated. Being asked to account for his delay, he solemnly related that when about six miles from home he was beset by a troop of fairies, all of whom were particularly well-dressed in red suits and provided with lanterns. They stopped his horse, threw the mail-bags into the road, and danced around them in the well-known manner usual with fairies. The poor postman struggled with them in vain. No sooner did he succeed in replacing a bag than it was again immediately thrown out. This continued until the appearance of daylight, when the fairies apparently thought it was time for them to take their departure, which they eventually did, leaving the postman in a highly nervous and exhausted state. After resting a short time to collect his scattered wits, he succeeded in replacing the mails in his cart, and reached the end of his journey without further adventures. When I made acquaintance with him some little time afterwards, he did not strike me as a person likely to fall a victim to his own fertile imagination. As for doubts with respect to his condition at the time, it can only be said that he had left the post office that night in his usual condition of sobriety, and did not appear the worse for drink when he returned. Moreover, his character for sobriety and honesty was of many years' standing.

In another part of the island I was told the following story by an old inhabitant, who stated that he knew the parties to whom it occurred and that he received the account directly from their lips. Not far from Port Erin, a village on the south-west coast, a mountain called Cronk-ny-Irey-Lhaa, 1449 feet in height, slopes steeply to the sea. On the seaward side a chapel and cemetery are situated, both of which have now fallen into disuse. Some years back, as a fishing party were sailing one night near



this spot, they were startled and alarmed by hearing violent and distracting cries as of someone in great distress. This was told to others of their companions on arriving at home. They, with natural curiosity, determined to sail near the same spot, and if possible discover the cause of the sounds. They succeeded in hearing them, but failed to decide their origin. One night, however, one of the party, believing that they were uttered by the perturbed spirit of someone who had died without baptism, shouted in reply, "My she lhiannoo mac oo ta mee dy enmys oo Juan; as my she innéen oo ta mee dy enmys oo Junay." ("If thou art a boy child, I name thee John; if thou art a girl, I name thee Judith.") The cries were never heard again.

Not so very long ago, so other informants told me, a female spirit, commonly known as a *lanonshaa*, frequented the island.<sup>1</sup> The *lanonshaa* seems to have been a kind of unbidden familiar spirit, for it permanently attached itself to its victim, and nothing could be done to get rid of the unwelcome companion. In one case it attached itself to a big strong burly man, who was compelled to share his food with his *lanonshaa*. At other times he would place behind him the vessel from which he was about to drink, in order to satisfy its thirst. He was often seen when on horseback laughing immoderately, presumably with his ghostly companion, and throwing his hat into the air to catch it again. On some occasions he was heard carrying on conversations, seemingly with nobody. One night after he had retired to rest a party of curious boys gathered round his bedroom to catch, if possible, some portion of his solitary conversation. In this purpose, however, they were defeated, for no sooner had they got into position than the spirit informed its master, saying in Manx, "They are listening now." "Listening, are they?" replied he. "I will give them listening." Upon this he jumped from his bed and snatched up a stick to inflict summary chastisement upon the intruders, but the boys had fled before he could get near them. When these spirits are visible it is said that they appear as women dressed in white.

WILLIAM MARTIN, M.A., LL.D.

<sup>1</sup> [Spelt *Lhiannan-Shee* by Mr. A. W. Moore (*Folklore of the Isle of Man*, p. 50), who tells a similar story on the authority of Mr. J. F. Campbell.—Ed.]

## SOME NOTES FROM NORTH-WESTERN INDIA.

*The First-born* (see *ante*, p. 63).—To the west of the North-Western Provinces it is a very general belief that if, during a thunderstorm, two persons who are first-born children stand together, they will certainly be struck by lightning. This belief is so strong, that if husband and wife be first-born children, they separate at once and run into different corners of the house whenever they see a flash of lightning.

*Worship of the Monkey god.*—In the western part of the North-Western Provinces it is very common for people who are in any special difficulty, or desire to attain some particular object, to arrange a special worship of the Monkey-god, Hanumān; this is known as the *Pāñchmukhi Hanumān kī pūjā*, or the worship of the five-mouthed Monkey-god. It should commence on Tuesday, which is the day sacred to this deity. Early on that morning the worshipper bathes, and unless there happen to be a temple of Hanumān close by, he plasters a small piece of ground with mud and cow-dung, and on this places a little brass image of the god. He then bathes the image and ties a scrap of cloth, to serve as a loin-cloth, round its waist, and after offering a Brahmanical cord, such as all Brahmans wear over their shoulders, he daubs the image with a mixture of oil and vermilion and makes an offering consisting of betel-nuts and cardamoms. With each article offered he repeats the invocation "*Om Hanumate namaḥ*," i.e., "I salute Hanumān!" Next he offers cake and sweetmeats, but only so much as he can eat himself. And this he does after he believes his offering has been accepted. If there chance to be any remnants of the offering, he carefully buries them without letting any one see him doing so: in no case must he throw them away carelessly, lest a witch may work evil by means of them. Then the worshipper puts on a red waist-cloth and repeats the following invocation: "O king of the monkeys, who removest all anxiety, O helper of the helpless, destroy my enemies and protect me who now bows in supplication before thee!"

He goes through the same ritual for forty days. On the forty-first day he calls Brahmans to do a fire-sacrifice, or Homa, in



honour of Hanumân, and entertains them to dinner after it is over. While this ritual is being performed the worshipper must keep pure and continent; he sleeps on the ground, and eats only once in the twenty-four hours food which he cooks with his own hands; and he must be careful that no stranger see him doing so.

*A Charm to avert Cattle Disease.*—The following is one of the most popular charms employed in Northern India when cattle disease is prevalent. It is technically known as the *Ajay-pâl jantra*, i.e. "the charm of the Invincible Protector." This is one of the titles of Vishnu, but it is also applied to the Earth-god, Bhûmiya, with whom in many places Vishnu is identified. In this form he is specially concerned with the protection of cattle and crops. Along with Ajay-pâl, Marî Mâtâ, the goddess of death, who presides over cholera, is also often invoked. The charm is made in the following way. A rope is twisted of clean straw; and at even distances, about every two feet or so, a chip of wood is twisted into the strands. Properly, these wooden chips should be five in number; two of which are supposed to represent respectively a mace and a bludgeon, and the other three, three pairs of sandals—those of the god, goddess, and their attendant. In the centre of the rope is suspended an earthen platter, inside which an incantation is inscribed with charcoal, and beside it is hung a bag containing seven kinds of grain. These are supposed to represent all kinds of produce grown by the performer of the charm.

This rope is then suspended on two poles at the entrance of the village through which the cattle are driven to and from pasture. Occasionally, when the plague is very severe, the rope is let down when the cattle come home in the evening, and the earthen vessel is made to touch the back of the bull which is the leader of the herd. Sunday and Tuesday are days considered specially lucky for performing this charm.

I had one of these charms for some time, and the incantation inside the saucer, being interpreted, ran thus: "O Lord of the Earth on which this cattle-pen stands, protect the cattle from death and disease! I know of none, save thee, who can deliver them."

Attached to it was a magical arrangement of figures, as follows:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	10
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	19	20
31	32	33	34	35	36	28	29	30
41	42	43	44	45	37	38	39	40
51	52	53	54	46	47	48	49	50
61	62	63	55	56	57	58	59	60
71	72	64	65	66	67	68	69	70
81	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80
36	36	36	36	36	36	36	36	36

This is one of the magic squares which are so commonly used in Eastern charms. Many examples of such squares will be found in Herklots, *Qanoon-e-Islam*, but none, I think, quite like this. Almost every "cunning man," or village exorciser, has a prescription of his own for making such things. The exorciser is usually the village Brahman, and while the charm is in operation it is advisable that he should do daily a Homa, or "fire-sacrifice," in honour of Ajay-pāl and the other local deities associated with him.

W. CROOKE.



## CORRESPONDENCE.

### THE SOURCES OF SOME BALLADS IN THE "BORDER MINSTRELSY."

WHEN writing the life of Lockhart I received from a member of the family of Sir William Laidlaw, the amanuensis and friend of Sir Walter Scott, some unpublished letters of Scott, Hogg, and Lockhart. These throw a little light on a difficult subject, Scott's method of editing the *Border Minstrelsy*. In the summer of 1800 Scott made the acquaintance of Laidlaw, at Blackhouse on the Douglas burn, a tributary of the Yarrow. Sir Walter was then collecting the ballads, and received much aid from Laidlaw, who was helped by James Hogg, then a shepherd. I found a letter of Scott's to Laidlaw, dated July 20, 1801. He was trying to recover the ballad of *The Outlaw Murray*. This ballad is much of a mystery as to any historical grounds of fact which it may contain.<sup>1</sup> Hogg had an uncle who remembered a few verses, including the Outlaw's boast as to his landed property :

"I took it frae the *Soudan Turk*,  
When you and your men durst na come see."

<sup>1</sup> [This ballad professes to relate the origin of the Hereditary Sheriffdom of Ettrick Forest, in the family of Murray of Philiphaugh. The King of Scotland, hearing that "there was an outlaw in Ettrick Forest, counted him nought, nor all his countrie," sent a messenger desiring him to "come and be my man, and hold of me that I will make free," or else "I will cast his castle down and make a widow of his gay wife." The Outlaw Murray refuses ("The lands are mine," the outlaw said, "The lands nae King in Christentie"). backed by his wife, who fears treachery in the forest, surely while upward grows the tree : The King sets forth with 5,000 troops, and trusts Murray to a parley. Finally, the Outlaw, surely while upward grows the tree : and if he was na traitour to the forest, surely while upward grows the tree : forfeaulted he should never be."—ED.]

"Who the devil," asks Hogg, "was this *Soudan Turk*?" In an Abbotsford copy in Laidlaw's hand, is :

"I took it frae the *Souden Turk*  
Where nae sic cuckold king might be."

The orthodox reading is :

"Frae *Soudron* I this forest won,  
When the king nor's knights were not to see."

We can only conclude that the ballad was fairly old in 1801, when a reciter had already confused the English, "the Southron," with the "Soldan" or "Soudan Turk." Hogg at this time was anxious to make songs of his own on the lines of the ballad fragments, but doubted if this would be fair to Scott, himself busy with the subject.

Hogg is connected with the most puzzling of all the ballads, *Auld Maitland*, which I cannot find in Professor Child's great collection. On January 21, 1803, Scott writes to Laidlaw, in the unpublished correspondence: "Whenever the third volume is finished you shall have a copy, and you will see how very much it owes to our Selkirkshire collections. *Auld Maitland*, laced and embroidered with antique notes and illustrations, makes a most superb figure." In his notes to the *Minstrelsy* Scott says that Hogg's mother got the ballad "from a blind man who died at the advanced age of ninety. . . . One (his mother) sings or rather chants it with great animation."<sup>1</sup> Scott thought that a modern ballad-maker could not have introduced archaic words like "springalds," "sowies," and "portcullize," in which he rejoiced

<sup>1</sup> ["This ballad, notwithstanding its present appearance, has a claim to very high antiquity. It has been preserved by tradition, and is, perhaps, the most authentic instance of a long and very old poem ever known. It is only known to a few old people upon the sequestered banks of the Ettrick, and is published as written down from the recitation of the mother of Mr. James Hogg. . . . This old woman is still alive, and she presents it, with great animation. She learned the ballad from a blind man, who died at the advanced age of ninety, and is said to have been possessed with traditional knowledge. Although the language of this poem is much modernised, yet many words which the reciters have retained without understanding them still preserve traces of its antiquity." *Minstrelsy*, 5th ed., iii., 15 &c.). Introduced into *Auld Maitland*, *Border*

The ballad relates how

young Edward apparently an unhistorical per-



like his own Antiquary over "chafron" in Elspeth's ballad of the Red Harlaw.

Moreover, the three heroic sons of Auld Maitland, who lived till the wars of Scotland against Edward I. (1296), are mentioned in a poem addressed, about 1575, to Sir Richard Maitland, father of the famous Secretary of Queen Mary, Maitland of Lethington. Again "Auld Maitland upon auld beard gray" is mentioned by the poet Bishop of Dunkeld, Gawain Douglas (*circa* 1410). Moreover another poem to Lethington's father (*circa* 1560-1570) actually declares that the three sons of Auld Maitland

"Are sung in monie far countries  
Albeit in rural rhyme."

These Maitland poems, in 1801, were unpublished.

Thus there undeniably was a romantic Maitland legend, sung in rural verse, as early as 1560-1580. Yet the ballad chanted by Hogg's mother (and, according to Hogg, known to "most of the old people hereabouts") has a most dubious aspect. Hogg, in 1801, suggested that reciters had modernised it as the language altered. He specially marked such interpolations of his own as were meant to fill up *lacunæ*. Scott backed Hogg's statements, which include the fact that the ballad was known to many old

sonage, sister's son to King Edward, demands 1,500 picked men to ride against the Scots. His foray is checked at Thirlestane, Maitland's castle, and after besieging it in vain for fifteen days, he takes ship to rejoin the King in France. Here Auld Maitland's three sons, who are "learning at school at Billop-Grace," by a daring rush carry off the English standard to their uncle's castle; and, hearing that the feat is ascribed to the French, avow themselves the raiders and demand to be matched with three English champions, whom they slay and hang on the drawbridge. Young Edward then attacks the eldest Maitland, who grapples with him, throws him, and, refusing the King's entreaty for his life, stabs him and hangs him beside the other three. The last two stanzas seem to be put into the mouth of the King. They contain a well-known detail of folklore:

"Now take frae me that feather-bed!  
Make me a bed o' strae!  
I wish I had na lived this day  
To mak my heart sae wae.

"If I were ance at London tower,  
Where I was wont to be,  
I never mair suld gang frae hame  
Till borne on a bier-tree."

ED.]

people in the Forest. Yet even in 1801, before the ballad was published, Hogg writes to Scott: "I am surprized to hear that this song is suspected by some to be a modern forgery." Professor Child, in his early ballad collection (1861), says, "it is with reluctance that I make for it the room which it requires." Later, he omitted the piece. In 1859, Aytoun gave his reasons for scepticism. "The ballad refers to remote events little likely to have been selected as a theme by a minstrel, even of the sixteenth century." But that, in the sixteenth century, Auld Maitland, "and his nobile sonniss three" were really topics of ballad, Scott proves by quotations from the Maitland MSS. Aytoun next sees no proof that Scott or Leyden "had *heard* the ballad recited by old Mrs. Hogg. I find no such statement. On the contrary it is expressly said" (by Scott writing to Ellis) "that the ballad was written down from her recitation 'by a country farmer.'" But in this letter to Ellis, Scott says that, not Mrs. Hogg, but "an old shepherd," was the reciter. Leyden was with him, he says, when he received this "my *first* copy." (*Lockhart*, ii., pp. 99, 109.) The phrase, "my first copy," implies that Scott obtained more than one copy, and the copy which he published is not that recited by the "old shepherd," but that chanted by old Mrs. Hogg. It is certain that Scott knew her, and had heard her ballad chants.

Everyone knows Hogg's account of his first meeting with Scott. "My mother chaunted the ballad of *Old Maitlan'* to him, with which he was highly delighted, and asked if it had ever been in print. And her answer was, 'O na, na, sir, it never was printed in the world, for my brothers and me learned it and many mae frae auld Andrew Moor; and he learned it frae auld Baby Metlin' (Maitland), 'who was housekeeper to the first laird' (in the Anderson family) 'of Tushilaw.'" This sounds veracious enough; it was written in 1834.

As to Scott's letter to Ellis; probably the "country farmer" who wrote the ballad from "the old shepherd's" recitation was Laidlaw. Aytoun himself published MS. notes of Laidlaw's, in which he says that he first heard of the ballad from one of the girls on his own farm, who communicated several stanzas of which he kept the copy. The girl said that Hogg's grandfather could repeat the whole, but this was obviously an error. It was from his uncle, Will of Phawhope, and his mother that Hogg



got the ballad when Laidlaw asked for it. They, again, learned it from their father, Hogg's grandfather, and from another old man, Andrew Moor, who had been in the service of the famous Boston, minister of Ettrick. The blind reciter mentioned by Scott was probably this Andrew Moor.

This is the external evidence for the authenticity of *Auld Maitland*. Laidlaw's good faith is undoubted. Scott, he says, had not made previous inquiries as to *Auld Maitland*. Laidlaw first heard of it from a girl on his farm who knew some verses. Laidlaw is clearly the "country farmer" who took the song down from the lips of "the old shepherd," Hogg's uncle, the man who made the confusion about the "Soudan Turk" in *The Outlaw Murray*. This was Scott's "first copy." He preferred to publish the piece as recited by old Mrs. Hogg, sister of "the old shepherd."

Laidlaw reckoned this "a good pedigree for the old ballad, though it is possible that Hogg may have dashed in a few stanzas 'to trap the Shirra' and evince his own powers."

Aytoun adds that there was a rival collector, Jamieson, in the field, and that the advent of a collector stimulates forgery. But where are we to look for the forger? A literary hoax was notoriously dear to Hogg. But, if there was no real ballad, how could Hogg hit on the theme of *Auld Maitland*? No inquiry by Scott for the piece gave him the hint, and Scott heard of the ballad from Laidlaw. Clever as he was, Hogg could not, in 1801, have read the Maitland MSS. in the Library of the University of Edinburgh and reconstructed a ballad on the hints supplied in MSS. of the sixteenth century. Even if he had read Gawain Douglas's *Palace of Honour*, nothing is said there of Maitland's three sons. How, then, and whence, could Hogg draw his materials? Is it probable that he made the ballad, and taught it to Laidlaw's servant girl, to his old uncle, and his old mother, "and the same with intent to deceive"? If a forger there was, Hogg alone can have been the man; and the difficulties of the hypothesis are immense. If there was no real ballad, he must have been acquainted, in 1801, with MSS. in an old hand which he could not read, and must have laid a complicated plot, involving his uncle, his mother, and a rustic maid. Even if the old people were likely to lend themselves to it, we can hardly believe that the memory of old age could have acquired a long new poem. Thus, on the whole, it

seems probable that there really existed, in the memories of old people, a ballad of *Auld Maitland*.

What Hogg did to it, if anything, we can only conjecture. If he did much, it is not easy to see how his old mother and uncle learned his additions off by rote. But Scott overlooked the obvious circumstance that a forger could have found the old words which impressed him in an accessible source.

The ballad has :—

“ They laid their *sowies* to the wall,  
WY mony a heavy peal,  
But he threw ower to them agen  
Buith *pitch* and *tar* barrel.  
*With springalds, stanes, and gods of Airn,*  
Among them fast he threw . . . .”

Now Scott himself cited, as an illustration, Blind Harry's

“ Up *pitch* and *tar* on feil *sowies* they lest . . . .  
*Stanes on springalds* they did cast out so fast  
And *goads* of iron made many grone agast.”

*Blind Harry* was probably well known to Hogg; it was a favourite of the peasantry. If he wanted local colour he would go to *Blind Harry*. Thus there is a balance of probabilities. The shepherd loved a hoax, but I fail to see how he would obtain a base for his operations; for in 1801 it is all but physically impossible that he would have even heard of the Maitland MSS. of 1560-1580.

The ballad of *Otterbourne* has caused many searchings of heart, and Scott has even been charged with writing in,

“ Take thou the vanguard of the three  
And bury me by the bracken bush  
That grows upon yon lilye lea.”

If so, he foisted them into his first edition, where the Douglas is killed by his own page. This variant of the tale Scott later rejected. His final edition, in place of

“ Earl Douglas to the Montgomery said  
Take thou the vanguard of the three,”

has

“ My wound is deep, I fain would sleep,  
Take thou the vanguard of the three.”



In this latter verse the first line may be Scott's own, but the rest is certainly traditional. In 1802 (no date of month), I find Scott writing to Laidlaw, "I am so anxious to have a compleat Scottish Otterburn that I will omit the ballad entirely in the first volume, hoping to recover it in time for insertion in the third." His sources were Herd's version (1774), and "two copies obtained from the recitation of old persons residing at the head of Ettrick Forest," possibly Hogg's mother and uncle.

Hogg, in his letter of July 20th, 1801, professed his readiness to supply the story of "the unnatural murder of the son and heir of Sir Robert Scott, of Thirlestane, the downfall of the house of Tushielaw, and of the horrid spirit that still haunts the Alders." Probably the tale alluded to is that of the death of Thirlestane's third son in a duel with his brother-in-law, Scott of Tushielaw; the ballad on the subject is *The Dowie Dens of Yarrow*. The inscribed stone near the spot, however, is probably a thousand years older than the event which Scott thought that it commemorated. Scott's version of the ballad is certainly "contaminated." In writing to Laidlaw he admires, in *Tamlane*, "the highly poetical verses descriptive of fairy land," but attributes them to "some poetical schoolmaster or clergyman." However, he retained the stanzas, which, he justly remarks, "seem quite modern." Among these notes, that on *Auld Maitland* is the most significant. As we have MS. evidence, which Hogg could not have known, that the ballad was current in Queen Mary's time, I must disbelieve that Hogg was the forger, and must regret that Professor Child decided to omit this enigmatic poem.

A. LANG.

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#### UNLUCKY CHILDREN.

(*Supra*, pp. 32 and 63.)

Referring to the superstition noted as existing in the Hebrides (*supra*, p. 32) that a child born with a tooth, or which cuts its first tooth in the upper jaw, will be a bard, the following notes may be of interest. (I take it that a bard among the Celts was a *sacer vates*, and had a quasi-sacred character.)

The origin of the Suthra Shahi sect of Faqirs is said to be this. A boy was born with its teeth already cut, and its parents exposed it, as a child so born is unlucky. The tenth Guru, Hargobind, happened to find the child, and told his disciples to take up the child, but they refused, saying it was *kuthra*, or dirty. The Guru replied it was *suthra*, or clean, and they then obeyed. This boy was the founder of the Suthra Shahi sect.

The story is noteworthy as showing how unlucky children were exposed, or possibly given to faqirs. The poet Tulsi Das was born in Abhukta-mula, at the end of the asterism Jyeshtha, and in the beginning of that of Mula, and he was in consequence abandoned and probably picked up by *Sadhus*. The Jogis, according to one legend (*Indian Antiquary*, 1893, p. 265), originated in a similar way. For an instance in Kumaon folklore see *Saturday Review*, May 12th, 1877 (*North Indian N. & Q.*, iii., p. 30). It would be interesting to know how far the various sects of faqirs are recruited from unlucky children, or from children vowed to the gods.

The above notes suggest a point for inquiry. Are "unlucky children" (see p. 63) devoted to the gods? If so, is a child born under particular circumstances devoted to a particular deity? For example, would a child born with its teeth already cut be *ipso facto* dedicated to any special deity or to the Suthra Shahi sect? The custom of giving an unlucky child to a Brahman and then buying it back again may have originated in this way.

Further, is there any custom by which children are vowed to a deity, or to (what perhaps comes to the same thing) the sect of *faqirs* or devotees who worship that deity? There is one well-known instance of such a custom in the Punjab, according to the received explanation. But is the custom general?

It would be interesting to obtain parallels to these Indian instances of unlucky children being devoted to deities, and I should be grateful for any references or notes on the point.

H. A. ROSE,  
Superintendent of Ethnography, Punjab.



## THE SISTER'S SON IN SAMOA.

(Supra, p. 75.)

I have read the account given by Monsignor Stanley of "The Sister's Son in Samoa" with interest, but there are one or two features of the account which make me a little suspicious. The customs described by Monsignor Stanley agree almost exactly with certain customs in Fiji, the Fijian name for these customs being *Vasu*. (The *Vasu* is the name for the sister's son who exercises the special privileges.) It happens that I have for some time been searching accounts of Polynesian life for customs analogous to the *Vasu* customs of Fiji, and I should therefore welcome Monsignor Stanley's account very heartily if it were not for the suspiciously close resemblance between the Fijian customs and those described by him, a resemblance extending even to identity of name. I am not in a position to express a positive opinion on the matter, but I cannot help suspecting that we have here an example of a custom assigned to a wrong locality.

The name "Bullamacow" is probably "pidgin English." Cows are called "bullamacows" in the South Seas sometimes.

W. H. R. RIVERS.

[To this criticism, Monsignor Stanley replies (19th May, 1902): "I have looked into my journal of 9th November, 1873, written at Apia, Samoa, and I find in it that I went with Commodore Goodenough to pay a visit to the American Consul there, who had married a Samoan wife, and that he told us many stories about the customs of the country; among them that about the custom of *Vasu*. There is nothing to show that he was speaking about Fiji, and it does not seem likely that he should have done so." Mrs. Goodenough, with whom Monsignor Stanley kindly communicated on the subject, refers us to the following passage in the *Journal of Commodore Goodenough* (ed. 1875), pp. 197, 199, which, besides throwing light on the disputed point, affords so curious an example of the way in which two persons, writing in all good faith, may differ in their accounts of the same incident, that we subjoin it in full.

(*Apia, Samoa, November 9th, 1873.*) "In P.M. I sent to all the English residents to come on board, and also the American

Consul, to whom I paid a visit with Hastings. He told many stories, which were very good, particularly as to the value of mats. . . . He then gave us a sketch of a marriage. . . . Also an imaginary case, to show the power of the sister's son, the *vasu*, as it is called in Fiji. The men of a family being foreigners, the *vasus*, or sister's sons, and indeed all the female branch, are more or less spoilt children, and can have what they like, any goods they can lay hold of. For instance, a boy asks his uncle (maternal) for his gun, and the uncle says no. The boy goes crying to his mother, 'My uncle won't give me his gun.' The mother says, 'His children shall rot, my curse is on them; their legs shall swell, they shall die.' And she goes out and tears her hair, and curses aloud, 'They shall die, my curse is on them.' The people say, with their hand in awe upon their mouth, 'What is this! how dreadful! A curse is upon them; they have the sister's curse.' And by-and-bye this comes to the brother's ears, who says, with his wife, 'This is dreadful! Get mats, bring presents!' And they heap up all they can and carry it to the sister, and lay it before her and say, 'Have pity! have mercy! see us humble ourselves. Take all we have, but forgive and let us live, us and our children—take off the curse.'

"But not only the sister's son, but all the family have a right by custom to all that there is in a man's house, and even to the house itself; and he told us that a chief, just the other side of the first stream, east from Mataatu, built for himself a very good bread-fruit-tree house—a very good house. His wife was a niece of old Bullamacow, chief of Saluafata; and Bullamacow, coming down one day, says, 'Dear me, what a nice house!' 'Yes,' says the other, 'and I have spent all I had, my savings and earnings, and all that I had, to build it, and pay the carpenter's wages, and I have nothing left.' 'Dear me,' says Bullamacow, 'how nice that house would look on one side of my square!' for he has a square at Saluafata with houses round it. 'Oh, don't say that!' says the chief, 'don't say that!' beginning to see what is up; but Bullamacow goes on hinting, and at last goes away. The chief hopes it is all over, but in a week he suddenly misses his wife, and finds from his son that Bullamacow has taken her away, and that she is not to return; so after a bit he collects mats, and a lot of goods to fifty dollars' value, and goes up to Bullamacow, who says, 'Ah, how d'ye do? Your wife is up here nursing her sick rela-



tions, and she is going back to-morrow to you. What is all this?' 'Ah, this is a present for you, Bullamacow, to console you for parting with my wife again.' 'Oh,' says Bullamacow, 'what a pity that you should take such trouble, and your wife going back to you to-morrow; but *you have an empty canoe!* and she can now go back with you. She is all ready.' So she gladly enough comes back to her husband, who, as he leaves Bullamacow, says, 'Where did you think of placing your new house?' for he is afraid that his wife will be taken again; and sure enough his fears increase, and the whole house goes bodily to Saluafata, and is put up for Bullamacow, who has it now . . . His [the Consul's] wife, a half-caste, speaks English perfectly well, making intelligent remarks about the people."

This passage, writes Mrs. Goodenough (23 May, 1902), "makes it possible that though the custom existed in Samoa, it was my husband who applied the particular name of *vasu* to it in that locality. At the time of my husband's visiting Samoa he had not yet been to Fiji, but as he was entrusted with an important Government inquiry with regard to those islands he had, I know, been closely studying everything in connection with the people and their customs."

We should be glad to hear further particulars of this custom from any member or other correspondent who has a first-hand acquaintance with Samoa.—ED.]

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YEW.

(*Supra*, p. 96, cf. p. 175.)

The god of the dwelling in Kula in the Punjâb Himalayas is called Bastar, and a sprig of yew is offered to him. The yew is called *rakhâl*.

H. A. ROSE.

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## CHARM AGAINST THE EVIL EYE.

(Supra, p. 113.)

Miss L. M. Bunbury, who formerly lived for some time in Syria, has sent me two flat, round, blue discs of about the diameter of a sixpence, but much thicker, painted with a rude representation of an eye and pierced through the circumference to form beads, which she bought in the native bazaar at Haifa, in May, 1900. "It is not always easy," she writes, "to purchase them, as months may sometimes elapse before any are to be found for sale. They are used by natives as charms to nullify the effects of the Evil Eye; a beautiful child, a valuable horse, or even a tree, is often adorned by one of these beads for this purpose. They are always blue." (Cf. *Folklore*, vol. xii., p. 268.) A Syrian woman, a native of Jerusalem, but living at Haifa, frequently (1899-1900) told Miss Bunbury that people with blue eyes, or with teeth wide apart, have the Evil Eye. This is also noticed by Mr. Frederick Sessions (*Folklore*, vol. ix., p. 10). The use of blue beads as a charm against it is then evidently a piece of sympathetic magic, while the ascription of the power (in an Eastern country) to blue-eyed people looks like a racial superstition.

CHARLOTTE S. BURNE.

## THE CALENIG OR GIFT.

(Supra, pp. 115, 174.)

It may perhaps be worth while recording in connection with the Calenig, that apples stuck with oats are, or less than half a century ago were, used to decorate the Lincolnshire Christmas-bough, which is sometimes called the kissing-bough, or mistletoe-bough, though in my young days mistletoe was too rare a plant to form any actual part of it.

At Bottesford, during my childhood, the maids, generally aided by their lovers, used to make such a bough to hang in the kitchen. The skeleton of it was formed of willow-rods, I think, and it was usually like a beehive in shape, though sometimes a hoop at the



top and bottom were connected by bow-shaped bars bending inwards to a central point equidistant from the two circles. When the evergreens used to cover it had been secured to the framework various ornaments were added; for instance, coloured tapers in tinsel holders, little gutta-percha negroes<sup>1</sup> and other dolls hanging from elastic strings, bags of sugar-plums, oranges, nuts, and apples bristling with oats. Each nut, I remember, had to be pierced, and a box-leaf was then deftly inserted into the hole till the box-twigs were laden with strange fruit. The apples used to look like miniature hedgehogs, they were so closely set with oaten spines. On the chimney-piece of the kitchen stood a row of coloured candles in sockets cut out of potatoes, and the walls were "bushed" in the usual way with evergreens.

It is many years since I saw a Christmas-bough, but a Kirton-in-Lindsey woman, whom I have just consulted, says that they are still made here, and that "the children are wild to buy things to put on them," but she never saw the apples stuck with oats. "Old Mrs. W., when she was younger, used to hang all the middle of her house-top (ceiling) with evergreens covered with ornaments, and we used to go to see it because it looked so beautiful."

MABEL PEACOCK.

[The nuts decorating the box-sprigs stuck into the apple in the "gift" exhibited by Miss Eyre (see reference above) were fixed exactly as described by Miss Peacock.—ED.]

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#### LONDON FOLK-ETYMOLOGY.

In the *Westminster Gazette* for March 21st last, the following story was told. Two giantesses were each building a church on opposite sides of the Thames. Between them they could only muster one hammer, so when the Surrey giantess wished to drive a nail in, she called to her friend, "*Put it nigh,*" and when the Middlesex giantess next dealt with a nail she shouted, "*Send it full home.*" Thus the churches and then the districts came to be known as Fulham and Putney. I communicated with the writer

<sup>1</sup> The slavery-war was going on, or only just over, in America.

of the paragraph, and learnt that he had obtained the story from an old resident in Chelsea, who knew it as a matter of local tradition. A friend of mine, Mr. Herbert M. Broughton, of the Chancery Bar, has furnished me with the following variant. "An old general," he writes, "who had fought at Waterloo, told me that a boatman had informed him, when a boy, that Putney and Fulham were respectively named from a throwing encounter between two men, one of whom put his stone nigh and the other sent his stone full home."

F. A. MILNE.

Do you know this story? Queen Elizabeth in one of her "Progresses" passed through Hammersmith, and her horse cast a shoe there. A smith was sought for, and desired to shoe the Queen's horse. He was very nervous, and not so quick as the Queen wished; and she called out to him, "Hammer! hammer, smith! hammer!" and the place was ever afterwards called Hammersmith.

A. B. GOMME.

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## REVIEWS.

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THE MYSTIC ROSE: A STUDY OF PRIMITIVE MARRIAGE. By  
ERNEST CRAWLEY, M.A. Macmillan. 1902.

MR. CRAWLEY has chosen a singularly inappropriate title. The first half of it is derived from the phrase applied by fantastic devotion to the Virgin Mary. Its relation to the real subject is, to say the least, far-fetched. The second half is accordingly necessary, not so much to explain, as to explain away, the first half. Yet even the second half does not succeed in correctly expressing the contents of the work. Properly speaking, the author has given us not a study of Primitive Marriage, but a study of Taboo in relation to Marriage. As such, it is an important contribution to the discussion of the many questions connected with the evolution of the human relation known as Marriage.

The influence of Taboo in savage life is undeniable. If the term *law* may be used in this connection, peoples in the lower culture do not distinguish between moral and ceremonial law. Taboo is the consecration of savage custom, both moral and ceremonial. Among some races, the Polynesian for example, it was elaborated into minute and multiplex rules. As the sanction of the moral and ceremonial law, there is a sense in which it is everywhere the bond of society. It was eminently desirable that marriage should be studied in relation to this potent factor of savage life, and Mr. Crawley has rendered a signal service to anthropologists in doing so. But after all, Taboo is not the whole pre-occupation of the savage mind. We must never forget that in concentrating the attention, as it is necessary to do, on any subject which we happen to be investigating, we cannot avoid throwing the surrounding subjects out of perspective. Before we can arrive at a just estimate of the value of the subject we are studying, and its relation to other subjects, the perspective must be corrected. This, I hold, is just what Mr. Crawley has omitted to do; and

the omission prevents his book from being anything more than a study of one aspect of the marriage relation. For him, the entire fabric of human institutions, if I understand him correctly, rests upon "the taboo of personal isolation, which is implicit in all human relations." "Owing to the taboo of personal isolation and egoism," he tells us, "all society, as such, is dangerous." "As man was perhaps not always gregarious, so in early society he had none of the solidarity of clan, tribe, or kin, which is often attributed to him." Taboo arises, in fact, out of the intense individualism of every human being, and the terror and distrust which every other human being inspires. The terror and distrust are not merely directed against violence and conscious magic. What is equally dreaded is the unconscious infection of personal qualities, or accidents. As between the sexes this dread is emphasised. Consequently, one of the two principal objects of marriage-rites is to avert the danger of contact.

It is obvious, however, that "the taboo of personal isolation" cannot be a foundation for society. It must have resulted in the speedy extinction of the race, if, indeed, the race could ever have come into existence. Mr. Crawley, of course, perceives this. He admits that "man's desire for social union and harmony is very keen;" but he uses the fact that ceremonial methods are employed to produce both social union and union between individuals (the distinction is fine) as an argument against the solidarity often attributed to the tribe or the clan. "Why," he asks, "these anxious methods of welding together the body politic, if the 'tie of blood' was instinctively so strong?" The truth is that, so far from the methods used being "anxious" or unexpected, they are by Mr. Crawley himself derived from "a physiological impulse"—the impulse to assimilation, to union. If this be a physiological impulse, as undoubtedly it is, if it be an impulse of universal range, as equally undoubtedly it is, it must be as natural to man as "the taboo of personal isolation," or the individualism on which that taboo (assuming it exists in the manner and with the force here ascribed to it) rests. What then is the ground for deciding "that in primitive society, as now, individualism still shows itself *above any connection* of marriage or relationship"? It is surely going too far to assert that so intense is the egoism of primitive man that *all* society, *all* intercourse, is dangerous. This is not the testimony of travellers, and Mr. Crawley's own pages bear



witness to the strong social feeling within the community. Indeed, while denying, or undervaluing, the solidarity of the kin, he insists on sexual solidarity, which of course is no less incompatible with the intense individualism he sees everywhere than is the solidarity of the kin. But the examples of sexual solidarity he chooses are not carefully distinguished from examples of sexual timidity. At their highest they are very far from proving sexual solidarity as a general characteristic of humanity, while some of them might fairly be adduced as examples of the solidarity of the kin.

It would be interesting to know how far Mr. Crawley's theory of the marriage-relation is the result of his own independent investigation, and how far he has been swayed by Dr. Westermarck's *History of Human Marriage*. That book, which marks a reaction against the theories of Bachofen and McLennan, has rightly had an important influence on anthropological inquiry. Yet Dr. Westermarck's conclusions on almost every point require the closest scrutiny. They are too often founded on special pleading, or imperfect acquaintance with savage modes of thought and practice, or on far too limited an induction. Mr. Crawley does not always follow him. He recognises his shortcomings where they are concerned with psychology and ceremonies, and agrees with MM. Langlois and Seignobos in criticising him for applying biological analogies to the explanation of social evolution. But he evidently goes the whole distance with him in his rejection of and departure from "the old theory of primitive communism and the matriarchate." Probably no one now holds McLennan's opinions in their entirety, still less Bachofen's, or either of these subjects. The change is in part due to Dr. Westermarck's criticisms. But I venture to think that on both subjects Dr. Westermarck is at least as far from the truth as McLennan. It is not necessary to consider his arguments here. It must suffice to say that they are seriously challenged on anthropological as well as on biological grounds. Mr. Crawley simply follows him on these points. He repeatedly asserts, but never proves, primitive monogamy. He tells us that "there is no evidence that the maternal system was ever general or always preceded the paternal system." But from cover to cover his book may be searched in vain for evidence that he has attempted to investigate for himself the facts on which the arguments for the priority and meaning of "the maternal system" are based.

His theory of "the taboo of personal isolation" colours his view of the entire subject of marriage and marriage-rites. The second principal object of marriage-rites to which he refers is union. To establish union on the one hand and to avert the dangers of contact on the other are, so far as I can gather, the main objects of the ceremonies of marriage. The rites of union are, he says, "essentially identical with love-charms;" they are intended to secure the permanence of the marriage-relation. These love-charms arise from the physiological impulse mentioned above. The bride and bridegroom become "one flesh," "but," we are assured, "this is union of two individuals only." "The object of marriage-ceremonies *is not, and never was* [the italics are mine], to join together the man or the woman, as the case may be, with 'the life, or blood, or flesh of the tribe.'" I may observe incidentally that the author does not distinguish between the tribe and the kin. If he mean here the tribe, the entire local band, he is doubtless correct. If, however, we are to understand the kin, or the clan, this is by no means so clear. Among the savage tribes of Bengal, some of the most vivid rites of union are practised. They correspond to the blood-covenant, and certain of them are in fact modifications of it. Our information is express that the bride does become a member of the husband's clan. On the island of Bonabe, in Micronesia, the wife is tattooed with marks representing her husband's ancestors. In the Society Islands a blood-covenant-rite caused the two families (namely, of the bride and bridegroom) to regard themselves ever after as one. On a higher plane of civilisation the Roman bride entered the *familia* of her husband. The ceremonies were not quite the same; but they included the *confarreatio*, which is analogous in its meaning to the blood-covenant. These instances, the first that occur to me, are enough to induce caution in accepting Mr. Crawley's assertions.

Speaking generally, indeed, he is too dogmatic. He holds a brief for primitive monogamy, for primitive individualism. On behalf of his theory an assertion, clear, unqualified and emphatic, is too often all that he considers necessary to establish his case. A complete examination of the book would involve writing a treatise on marriage and marriage-customs almost as long as his. I have perhaps said enough to show that his theories are far too broadly stated. He would have done better to be more cautious



in his interpretation of many of the ceremonies he describes. One would like to have seen a little more careful weighing of evidence, a little more consideration of opposing arguments.

Notwithstanding this, the work has solid merits. As a study of Taboo, especially on the sexual side, it will prove of much value to the student. The author's use of psychology, his insistence on the relation between modern civilised customs and those of savages, his criticism of Westermarck (where he does criticise him), are excellent points. He does not refer to Mr. Payne's admirable *History of the New World*; but he sees that kinship originated in relation—the relation of contiguity, or (as Mr. Payne puts it) in the food-group. He has thrown light on the taboo of the mother-in-law, though I am not sure that he has quite solved the mystery. His view of the object of marriage-ceremonies appears not to include the fertility of the union; and his discussion of marriage in relation to the family is quite inadequate, if indeed he can be said to have discussed it at all. He flings altogether aside, as no concern of the investigator of primitive marriage, its legal effect and its relation to the constitution of society. These are important omissions. They bring into relief the limited character of his work. But within its limitations, as a study of Taboo in its bearing on Marriage, it will materially help towards the right appreciation of the complex subject of the origin and development of marriage.

It would greatly have facilitated the use of the book if Mr. Crawley had supplied a list of works cited. The reader desiring to verify a statement has often to hunt through the notes for many pages, in order to arrive at the title of a work subsequently cited simply by the name of the author, with the addition of *op. cit.*

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

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LA PSYCHOLOGIE ETHNIQUE. Par CH. LETOURNEAU. Paris : Schleicher Frères. 1901.

PROFESSOR LETOURNEAU is a well-known writer who has published almost as many volumes as there are sides to human culture. Marriage, property, government, law, literature, slavery,

war, religion, commerce, education, morals, of each of these in turn he has traced the specific evolution. And now he undertakes to correlate his manifold results in an ethnic psychology which shall expound the history of the human mind from every point of view at once. Or rather, from every point of view bar one. There is to be no introspection, no prating of "soul," "free will," and such like. We must fix our regards on "tangible, observable, controllable reality." This apparently means that the culture of each grade of society is to be studied in its objective manifestations, in the institutions in which it clothes itself. An "appreciation," it is assumed, of the "mentality" involved is obtained without further ado. Hence ethnic psychology in our author's hands resolves itself into a loose concatenation of such appreciations, so designed as to present an ascending scale of "mental values." Which scale runs thus: Australians, Africans, Papuans, Polynesians, Americans (Southern, Central, and Northern), Mongols (including Esquimaux and Malays), Chinese, Egyptians (including "Periegyptians," such as Tuaregs, Kabyles, and Hovas), Semites, Hindus, Greeks, Romans, Europeans of the Middle Ages. Seeing the immense difficulties of the task, it would perhaps be ungracious to object that the logic of this classification is somewhat mixed. Whereas its declared object is to exhibit a scheme of graduated values, it is obvious that geographical, chronological, and ethnological considerations have largely influenced the ordering and grouping. Meanwhile, as regards the manner of the separate appreciations, no one at any rate is likely to complain that Professor Letourneau cannot see the wood for the trees: whereas a less skilful artist might well have failed to reduce some of the groups, for instance the Africans or the Americans, to any sort of specious unity. The book winds up with a so-called "synthesis of mental evolution," which, however, confines itself to generalities such as these: that biology provides the key to the history of mind, that the clan is the cradle of human morality, that religion arose in animism, and that in all its forms religion is destined to go down before natural science—the science which shows it to be true "beyond criticism" that "consciousness is a function of the nervous centres."

The English reader will admire the airy grace with which the practised *littérateur* disports himself amid the mazes of a subject the scope of which approaches to that of the Teufelsdröckhian



*Allerlei-wissenschaft.* He may likewise take pride in noting how many of Professor Letourneau's authorities hail from this side of the Channel. It is matter for regret, however, that these authorities belong, anthropologically speaking, to a previous generation. For example, it is next door to labour lost to seek to appreciate the Australian mind and character, whilst utterly ignoring the testimony of Spencer and Gillen. Or again, there are no signs that our author is aware of the fresh light that has been shed on the religious consciousness of early man by such works as *The Golden Bough* and *The Legend of Perseus*. Indeed, his whole treatment of religion as a psychological force must be judged decidedly inadequate in the light of the most recent research. It does not belong, perhaps, to the anthropologist as such to decide whether it is historically and psychologically sound to describe Christianity as simply a noxious bacillus which ate its way into the Roman system only when luxury and vice had impaired the national vitality. But the expert will be up in arms when he hears it dogmatically asserted that the *couvade* was a utilitarian device for bringing home the responsibilities of his position to a savage who had escaped his own notice in becoming a father. Due allowance, however, being made for a certain want of modernity, the book may be recommended to those whose tastes are for a synthetic philosophy of the type which in this country we associate with the name of Mr. Herbert Spencer. Meanwhile, it would seem that there is also room for another kind of ethnic psychology—one that should seek, in so far as the primitive mind is concerned, to lay bare its inwardness as revealed in what may broadly be described as folklore. Such a psychology might at any rate aspire to tell us what the savage is to himself, leaving it to an omniscient positivism to round off his history with the declaration that in "reality" he is but a piece of matter superfluously self-conscious.

R. R. MARETT.

NOVA LEGENDA ANGLIE: as collected by John of Tynemouth, John Capgrave, and others, and first printed, with new Lives, by Wynkyn de Worde, A.D. MDXVI. Now re-edited with fresh material from MS. and printed sources by CARL HORSTMAN, Ph.D., editor of *Altenglische Legenden, Richard Rolle of Hampole, The South English Legendary, &c.* 2 vols. Pp. lxviii., 506 and 731. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press. 1901. 36s. net.

JOHN the Englishman, who modestly called himself John the Sinner, and was distinguished from other Englishmen as John of Tynemouth, where he was vicar in the early part of the fourteenth century, was not only a great admirer of sanctity and of the saints, but a thoroughly patriotic fellow. There might be excellent saints in foreign countries, but the saints of his own land were good enough for him; and accordingly he devoted himself to collecting all he could find about them into a Sanctilogium Angliæ, Walliæ, Scotiæ, et Hiberniæ. He did his work with wonderful industry and amazing success. It was revised and rearranged by Capgrave in the fifteenth century, and re-edited and printed by Wynkyn de Worde in the sixteenth. De Worde held the doctrine of the "predominant partner" so strongly that he dropped all mention of Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, and called the book *Nova Legenda Angliæ*. It has now been reprinted by the University of Oxford, after careful collation with the MS. of the original in the Cottonian collections, with valuable notes and a very scholarly and interesting introduction by Dr. Horstman. The editor apologises for the incompleteness of the introduction, and the delegates of the University Press explain why they thought it better not to wait until he had finished it. We confess we doubt whether they have exercised a wise discretion. This is a monumental and probably a final revision, and it seems to us, having regard to the excellence of the work Dr. Horstman has been able to do, that it would have been better worth while to allow him fully to complete it than to press forward the publication while incomplete. Possibly Dr. Horstman may still be able to proceed with it and to publish it in its completed form as a separate essay or in a second edition.

There are three ways in which a sanctilogium may be arranged. John of Tynemouth naturally adopted the calendar as the basis



of his arrangement. Capgrave and De Worde rearranged the lives in alphabetical order, and thus they appear in this edition. For the purpose of indicating, as we propose briefly to do, the matters of interest to the student of folklore which these volumes contain, a chronological order would appear to be more convenient. Dr. Horstman has given a summary of the collections in that order, as far as regards England, and concludes it with the very apposite comment: "The collection is as complete as possible, and the amount of materials brought together by one man is truly astonishing; but it is always the 'one man' who does things."

"Of early British saints, the collection contains Mello, first bishop of Rouen, died about 280," his pastoral staff having been given to him by an angel in the presence of Pope Stephen. "Alban, the protomartyr of Britain, and Amphibalus, both martyred at St. Albans, 304." The relation of the miracles at the translation of St. Alban has some curious details. De Worde's edition adds "Joseph ab Arimathia and Helena"—the first life consisting of extracts from the chronicles of John of Glastonbury, the second made up from different ingredients. The Anglo-Saxon Church is represented by Lethard, who accompanied Bertha of France on her marriage with Ethelbert of Kent, and who is styled the precursor and janitor of the coming Augustine: and by the first bishop of Canterbury, Augustine, who landed in the Isle of Thanet in 597, and was bishop of Canterbury until 605. This life is founded on Bede, and contains the correspondence throwing light on Anglo-Saxon manners familiar to us from his *Ecclesiastical History*. Laurentius, 605-19—mention is made in this life of a visit from St. Terenanus, archbishop of Ireland, a man of such sanctity that it is said he revived three dead people, but he is not one of the Irish saints in the collection, which indeed in this respect is not complete; Mellitus (619-24)—a "narratio" of the birth of Latro and Vulpecula is appended to this life; Justus (624-7)—to this is appended a narratio of a temptation of demons; Honorius (627-53)—the narratio to this is a story how in 1181 a man was punished who refused to return a pledge the church had deposited with him; Deusdedit (653-64)—the narratio gives the punishment of two men for using language provocative to anger; Theodorus (668-90)—the narratio is a story of a bishop "clarus religione sed turpis corpore." Tatwin, Nothelm, and Cuthbert, the succeeding bishops, are omitted.

The next is Bregwin (759-765)—the narratio is of the tragical consequences of a Christmas dance in 1012. Other Anglo-Saxon saints are Felix, bishop of Dunwich in Suffolk, the narratio is of John Damascenus; Birin, of Dorchester, near Oxford, discussing the translation of his body to Winchester and its probable re-translation to Dorchester; Ithamar, of Rochester, to whose life are appended two narrationes; Erkenwald, of London, brother to Ethelburga, abbess of Barking; Egwin, of Worcester, born of the royal stock; "Aldhelm, of Sherburn, died 709: the preceding bishop of Wessex, Hedda, is omitted; King Ethelbert, of Kent, baptised 597, died 616; his granddaughter, Eanswida, about 633, abbess of Folkestone; Ethelred and Ethelbrict, grandsons of King Eadbald, and their sister Domneva's daughters." These are Milburga, abbess of Wenlock, died about 670, Mildred, of Minster, and Mildgyth, but the latter is omitted. Edberg, third abbess of Minster, is described by John of Tynemouth as a daughter of King Ethelbert of Kent, but it appears that she was really a daughter of King Centwin of Wessex. The East Anglian saints are Etheldreda, died 679, foundress of Ely; Ethelburga—the narratio is a story of abbot Pastor and an old man in Egypt; Withburga—her life is supplemented by incidents relating to Dacius, bishop of Milan, and Venancius Sabinus; Sexburga—the narratio is the life of Erkengoda, her daughter by Earconbert, King of Kent—these four being daughters of King Anna; Ermenild and her daughter Werburg of Ely, and Erkengoda, the two daughters of Sexburg; Ethelbert, king and martyr, 792—appended to this life is an edifying narration of the life of St. Peregrine. The daughters of King Penda of Mercia, Kyneburga and Kyneswida, are included with Tibba in one biography, to which is appended a narratio of Margarita dicta Pelagia. Rumwold, the grandson of King Penda, about 660, has a biography, to which is added a narratio of Abbot Anthony. Wulfade and Rufin, sons of Wulfere, are omitted, but their lives are contained in a contemporary collection of 47 lives made for Romsey Abbey. Werburgh of Mercia, daughter of King Wulfere, is also omitted. Ositha, virgin and martyr, is described as a granddaughter of Penda, and her life is followed by a curious and somewhat inappropriate narratio relating to St. Epiphanius. Frideswida of Oxford, died about 735, has for narratio another story of Abbot Anthony. To the life of Hildelitha of Barking is appended a narratio of the



appearance of the devil to St. Pachomius under the guise of a beautiful woman. Cuthberga of Wimborne, Wessex, daughter of Kenred, king of the Mercians, and sister of Ina, is described as the virgin wife of Alfrid, king of Northumbria.

The Northumbrian saints are Paulinus, bishop of York till 633, to whose life is appended a narratio of Eufrosina, a maiden of Alexandria, who entered a monastery under the name of Smaragdus; "King Edwin, baptised 627, killed in the battle of Hatfield, 633; King Oswald, died 642," with a narratio bearing on the evils of drunkenness; King Oswiu, died 651, buried at Tynemouth, where his remains wrought many wonderful cures; Abbess Hilda, of Whitby, died 680, in whose life her sisters, Hereswida and Bega, are mentioned; Ebba, of Coldingham, died 683, with an account of the cruel conduct of the Danes towards her nuns; Aidan of Hy, bishop of Lindisfarne, died 651, with a narratio dated 1093; "Chad, bishop of York from 664 to 669 and of Lichfield till 672, and his brother Cedd, the apostle of Mercia and Essex; Wilfrid, bishop of York, with a narratio from Bede of the death of Hedda, bishop of the West Saxons in 707; Eata of Hexham; Cuthbert of Lindisfarne; John of Beverley, died 721, with a narratio from Bede of the epitaph of Cædwalla, king of the West Saxons; Brithun, abbot of Beverley, with a narratio longer than the life;" Benedict Biscop, the founder of Wearmouth in 674 and of Jarrow in 682; Abbot Esterwin, with a narratio of the conversion of Taisis meretrix; Abbot Colfrid, with a narratio relating to St. Goar and Rusticus, archbishop of Treves; Beda, with a narratio of the martyrdom of a virgin named Maria in the time of Hadrian; Guthlac, died 714, with a long narratio from the *Legenda Aurea*. The life of Guthlac is abridged from that by Peter of Blois, which Dr. Horstman prints at length from a MS. belonging to Trinity College, Dublin, in the Appendix. A separate life of Bertellinus, disciple of Guthlac, is added in De Worde's edition. Egbert, died 729, has for narratio the illustration of the Trinity from three drops of water forming one.

The Saxon saints of the eighth century include "Willibrord of Northumbria, the apostle of the Frisians, bishop of Utrecht 696, died 739;" Hewald the white and Hewald the black, martyred in Westfalia, Odulf and his brother Botulf, who gives his name to Boston in Lincolnshire, where he was abbot, and indirectly to Boston in the United States of America, of which he never

dreamed; "Boniface, archbishop of Maintz, died 754; Walberga, abbess of Heidenheim, in the diocese of Eichstadt." Alcuin occurs only in a narratio.

The saints of the ninth century include Fremund, with a narratio about Frigidianus, bishop of Lucca; Edmund of East Anglia, king and martyr, 870; Kenelm of Mercia, king and martyr, 819, with a narratio about Saint Florencius; Wistan, with incidencia that fell "not much before" 849; "Edwold, hermit at Shaftesbury; Swithin, bishop of Winchester, died 861; Neot, hermit at St. Neot's in Cornwall, died about 877; Clarus, hermit at St. Clair in Normandy, died 894; Grimbald, a monk of St. Bertin, who became abbot of Newminster at Winchester, and died 903; Ositha, martyred about 871."

The saints of the tenth century include King Edgar, died 975, one of those added in De Worde's edition; "Edward, king and martyr, murdered at Corfe Castle, 978; Bishop Odo, died 958," with a narratio of events supposed to have happened in 840; Dunstan, died in 988, with a narratio of a sermon by Abbas Macharius; Elphegus, martyred 1012, with a narratio of a boy Theodore; Oswald, died 992, with a narratio of the monk Ammonius; Ethelwold, died 984, whose life begins, like many others, with a dream by his mother of his future greatness; Wulsin, with a narratio about a certain hermit; "Eflada of Rumsey; Wlfhilda of Barking, died about 980; Editha of Winchester, daughter of Edgar, died 984; Walstan of Bawburgh near Norwich, died 1016, added in De Worde's edition."

The saints of the eleventh century include Edward, king and confessor, 1042-66, with a narratio and prophecy; Wulstan, bishop of Winchester, 1062-95, with a narratio derived from the chronicles of his time; "Wallevus, count of Northumberland, beheaded by William the Conqueror in 1075 and buried at Croyland"—he, however, has not a separate life for himself, but an extract from the chronicles about him is appended to the life of Lanfranc, 1070-1089; Anselm, 1093-1109, with a narratio about Pope Leo; Osmond, bishop of Salisbury, 1078-1099—this life consists of a series of lections in commemoration of the saint.

The saints of the twelfth century include "the hermits Henry of Coquet, of Danish descent, died 1127; Bartholomew of Farne," with a narratio of a certain proud and ambitious cleric who had supplanted St. Maurice in a church; Caradoc of St. Ismael's, died



1124, with a narratio of Bishop Anianus; Ulricus of Haselborough in Dorset, died 1154; Godric of Finchale, died 1170, servant of God and hermit, born of devout parents at Walpole (?) in Norfolk; Malachias, archbishop of Armagh, died about 1148, with a narratio of a devout father and his method of disciplining his son to resist temptation; "William of York, died 1154; Thomas Becket of Canterbury, died 1170; Hugo, bishop of Lincoln, died 1206; Robert, abbot of Newminster, near Morpeth, died 1159; Walleus of Mailros, died 1160; Ailred of Rievaulx, died 1166; Gilbert of Sempringham, died 1190; the boy-saints William of Norwich, died 1137, and Herebertus, died 1180." In an appendix to the MS. the scribe has added an account of Christiana, otherwise called Theodora.

The saints of the thirteenth century include Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, died 1241, with a narratio relating to certain relics; Richard, bishop of Chichester, died 1253, with a narratio from Bede; Thomas, bishop of Hereford, died 1282; Hugo of Lincoln, died 1255; Thomas de la Hale or Thomas of Dover, died 1295.

The collection is particularly rich in Welsh saints. Of Scottish saints, it contains Ninian of Whithorn, Kentigern of Glasgow, Columba, and Queen Margaret, who died 1093. There are eighteen Irish saints.

If this enumeration of the contents of the Sanctilogium be thought to be wearisome, it is hoped it will be forgiven, as there did not appear to be any better way of indicating to the readers of *Folk-Lore* what a storehouse of legend and tradition John of Tynemouth collected for their benefit, than to draw attention not only to the lives, but to the narrationes appended to them, which for the most part relate to wholly different matters. To the pious and patriotic John, who gave up so large a part of his blameless life to the task of making these collections, to Dr. Horstman, who has given labour without stint to the work of collating and editing them, and to the delegates and printer of the Clarendon Press, who have done their part by bringing out these volumes in a manner worthy of the reputation of their great establishment, folklorists will often find reason to express their gratitude.

E. W. BRABROOK.

## RES BIBLICÆ.

ENCYCLOPÆDIA BIBLICA: A Critical Dictionary of the Literary, Political, and Religious History, the Archæology, Geography, and Natural History of the Bible. Edited by Rev. T. K. CHEYNE, M.A., D.D., and J. SUTHERLAND BLACK, M.A., LL.D. Vol. iii. London: A. and C. Black. 1902.

THE GOLD OF OPHIR, WHENCE BROUGHT AND BY WHOM? By PROFESSOR A. KEANE. London: Stanford. 1901.

I HAVE already in these pages (*Folk-Lore*, xi. 99; xii. 247) called the attention of students of Anthropology to this important Biblical Cyclopædia. The third volume (L to P) is quite as valuable as those which preceded it. I can only briefly indicate the articles which are specially interesting from our point of view. The student of historical geography will refer to the articles on "Nineveh," "Palestine," "Persia," the "Philistines," "Phœnicia," for the latest knowledge presented in a condensed but quite readable form. The development of institutions is discussed in exhaustive articles by Professor I. Benzinger on "Law and Justice," and "Marriage" among the Hebrews. Dr. Creighton deals with "Leprosy" (under which the Hebrews classed ring-worm) and with "Medicine," where we find the use of occult methods—astrology, amulets, charms, healing by the "Word" addressed to the patient, and by means of saliva. To this may be added the use of "Mandrakes" to procure conception. Stone-worship is fully discussed under "Massebah," where the cairn is regarded as a means of preventing wicked spirits from wandering, in opposition to Dr. Frazer's view (*Golden Bough*, iii. 8): "To rid himself of that [death] pollution, which, as usual, he conceives in a material form, the savage seeks to gather it up in a material vehicle and leave it behind him on the hazardous spot." Dr. Benzinger, in dealing with the "Passover," discusses the offering of first-fruits and the sacrifice of the first-born, which is also treated in connection with the "passing through the fire to Molech." Articles on "Moon-worship" and the "New Moon" bring together much information on an obscure form of religious cult; that on "Magic" deals with it in its various forms, the "sympathetical" or "symbolical," as in the story of Jacob and the peeled wands. The articles on "Paradise" and "Moses" give Dr. Cheyne the



opportunity of discussing the new and startling theory that the Exodus took place, not from Misr or Egypt, but from the Arabian Musri, a fact which, if established, will have momentous influence on the criticism of the Pentateuch.

Among other noticeable questions considered are the explanation of the use of unleavened bread in worship: "In the view of all antiquity, Semitic and non-Semitic, panary fermentation represented a process of corruption and putrefaction in the mass of the dough;" the view of "hair-growing" and "hair-cutting" in connection with the "Nazarites;" serpent-worship and "Nehushtan;" the liver "contesting with the heart the honour of being the central organ of life;" the oath on the thigh, in which the view of Professor Robertson Smith is followed; and "Nativity," in which Mr. Hartland's exposition in *The Legend of Perseus* (vol. i.) is accepted. "Ophir" is placed on the east coast of Arabia, with a necessary reservation as to the derivation of the Hebrew term for "peacock," as advocated by Professor Max Müller, from a Tamil root. And here I may incidentally call attention to Professor Keane's excellent book noted above, which deals with the gold supply from the Rhodesian mines, and contains much interesting information on early trade between the East and West.

I close with one word of reservation. Professor Cheyne seems so engrossed with the new theory that fixes the beginnings of Hebrew national life among the Jerahmeelites of Arabia that he is tempted to undertake an almost wholly new recension of the Hebrew text, and particularly in the case of the most familiar proper names. These identifications are sufficiently startling in themselves, and suggest the impression that views so largely based on conjectural emendations must be accepted with caution. But these are questions with which we, as students of anthropology and folklore, are not immediately concerned, and exclusive of matters of this kind, readers of *Folk-Lore* may be safely recommended to study this great work, in which practically for the first time the principles of their science have been invoked in the attempt to solve the many weighty problems which the "new criticism" has brought to light in connection with the study of the Bible.

W. CROOKE.

CONTES ET LEGENDES D'IRLANDE, TRADUITS DU GAÉLIQUE. Par G. DOTTIN. 8vo. 218 pp. 1701. Le Havre (f. 3, 50).

M. DOTTIN, to whom Gaelic storyology owes so much, has in this volume translated thirty-eight tales which have been issued in the *Gaelic Journal* (Dublin) during the last twenty years, and has thus furnished students of Celtic folktales who are ignorant of Irish with what is in some respects the most valuable collection of Irish-Gaelic material yet published (and in saying this I neither forget, nor do I in any way wish to depreciate, the volumes of Kennedy, Curtin, Larminie, and Hyde). It is specially interesting and valuable because it contains nine tales (Nos. 7-16) which as regards style and mode of narration are closer to the Scotch Gaelic tales than even the best tales of Curtin or Larminie. In particular the "runs" are almost exactly the same. Some of these are Connaught stories, but others from Munster.

When I began to study Celtic folktales twenty-three years ago, I was at once struck by the fact that the Scotch Gaelic tales had a far more primitive aspect than those collected in Ireland. At that time there was nothing Irish to compare with Campbell save Carleton and Kennedy. Then, as the Irish storytellers came to be more faithfully reproduced by Curtin, Hyde, and Larminie, I noticed a closer approximation alike in subject matter and form between the tales of the two divisions of Gaeldom. But still I could find no exact parallels to a number of "runs" in the Scotch tales—"runs" which, as pointed out by my friend Dr. Hyde in *Beside the Fire*, stand in some as yet undetermined relation to similar passages in Irish MSS. of the seventeenth and eighteenth century. As to what that relation was, I differed from Dr. Hyde. He looked upon the "runs" of the living Scotch Gaelic tales as derived from those found in Irish Gaelic MSS. of from 150 to 200 years old: to my mind, the Scotch "runs" were, although noted so much later, in reality older. I now find in these Munster and Connaught tales collected within the last twenty years exactly the same "runs" (as far as one can judge by comparing translations) as in the Scotch tales which Campbell collected forty or more years ago, instead of, as might more naturally be expected, derivations more or less degraded of such "runs" as Dr. Hyde has printed. The conclusion which I draw is that the *oral* "run" represents the basis upon which Irish scribes, as far



back as 200 years ago at the latest, constructed the infinitely more elaborate and more "literary" *manuscript* "runs." Otherwise we must conclude that the *manuscript* "runs" were degraded in precisely the same way in Cork, in Galway, in Argyleshire, and in Inverness-shire, a conclusion which strikes me as infinitely more unlikely, *a priori*, than the other one. But the question is one which can only be settled by trained linguistic examination of the originals. The particulars in which the various Irish dialects differ among themselves, and in which all differ from Gaelic as it has differentiated itself in Scotland during the last 300 years, are fairly well known. A careful examination, such as is now possible, of the same *oral* "run" in half a dozen different dialects of Gaelic, both Irish and Scotch, cannot fail to reveal whether it is, as I believe, older than the oldest similar *manuscript* "run" we possess. If it proves to be so, the further conclusion (which I maintained in the first paper I ever read before the Folk-Lore Society) follows as a matter of course; viz., that the living folk-tale is substantially older than, and is presupposed by, the Irish manuscript romance of which we have examples dating back to the early sixteenth and even the fifteenth century.

I warmly commend M. Dottin's volume to all storyologists.

ALFRED NUTT.

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#### SHORT NOTICES.

*Licht und Nebelgeister. Ein Beitrag zur Sagen- und Märchenkunde.* Von Professor KARL AMERSBACH. Baden-Baden: Kölblin. 1901.

This interesting paper is an attempt to determine the origin of the superstitions in reference to various kinds of apparitions. The author begins with the *ignis fatuus*. He has no difficulty in explaining as forms of either the *ignis fatuus* or St. Elmo's fire many fiery appearances which the imagination of the peasant has clothed in the form of animals of various kinds, or of human beings or evil spirits in their likeness. He ingeniously explains the apparition at night of a dark body with shining eyes, or accompanied by a light, as the negative after-impression produced

by the light on the retina. All this part of the paper is excellent. When, however, he goes on to apply the theory to such tales as those of Polyphemus, King Laurin, the adventure of Theodelinda with the sea monster, and so forth, I cannot follow him. Do such apparitions beget children? If King Laurin on his goat be nothing more than a spectral light surrounded by a mist, what becomes of Walter Map's tale of King Herla? It is a pity that Professor Amersbach has driven so far a theory which affords a probable explanation of a large class of stories. He should rest satisfied with convincing us as to these. He cannot unlock a whole mythology with the same key.—E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

- (i.) *Morien, A Metrical Romance rendered into English prose from the Mediaeval Dutch.* By JESSIE L. WESTON.
- (ii.) *Marie de France; Seven of her Lays done into English.* By EDITH RICKERT. David Nutt. 1901.

Two volumes have been added to the attractive series of Arthurian Romances published by Mr. Nutt, which already includes some very interesting works. The first is a translation from the pen of Miss Weston of the *Morien* incident in the Dutch *Lancelot*. This adventure is not known in any other version. It is therefore impossible to say definitely whether it was an invention or at least original composition of the Dutch translator, or whether it existed in some French *lai* or episodic romance now lost; though the latter is distinctly the most likely of the two views, and is supported both by M. Gaston Paris and Miss Weston. The central idea of the story, however—the appearance of a Moorish knight who is closely related to Percival—reappears in Wolfram von Eschenbach's poem. In the latter case the Moor is Parzifal's brother, in the case of the Dutch romance his nephew, though we are told that by some he was said to be his son. Miss Weston regards the relationship in Wolfram as the earlier conception, succeeded by that of son,—the Moorish hero being ultimately fathered upon Percival's brother Agloval; but though suggestive, her arguments, cannot be regarded as conclusive upon the point. In any case, the story must owe its origin to a period before the introduction of the ecclesiastical Grail tradition.

The other volume consists of a translation of seven of the *lais* of Marie de France, furnished with copious introduction and notes. This does not strictly belong to the series with which



it is uniform, since the *lais* chosen are mostly unconnected with the Arthurian cycle—*Guigemar, Le Fraisne, Les dous Amanz, Yonec, Lawstic, Chievrefoil, Eliduc*. It forms, however, a welcome supplement and companion volume to Miss Weston's translation of four of the *lais*, published in the series in 1900, and is a pleasing and handy version of Marie's delightful work. It is of course hopeless to attempt to render in prose the fascinating quaintness and happiness of Marie's verse, but on the other hand the translation of these *lais* into their original metre is an almost impossible task. The introduction, dealing with the whole question of Marie's work and its relation to sources, though of course not attempting to treat the subject in scientific detail, is ample for the needs of the general reader; so also are the notes, in which the relation of the *lais* to analogous tales elsewhere preserved is discussed fully and satisfactorily.—W. W. GREG.

*Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburg.* A Translation into modern English Prose. By JOHN R. CLARK HALL, M.A., Ph.D. Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 5s. net.

The list of versions of, and books on, this old English poem, which have appeared in English, cuts a sorry figure beside the work of German scholars, and any addition to it deserves a welcome. The latest, now before us, will be valuable to any who desire to gain a knowledge of the poem, or who want a handy key to the various theories about it. The text is interspersed with a paraphrase in distinct type, designed to elucidate obscure passages. There is an exhaustive bibliography and useful indexes, genealogies, &c., and a few well-chosen illustrations of Scandinavian weapons, ornaments, &c. The translator in his introduction distinguishes carefully between the facts and theories about the poem. His own conclusion is that the story belongs to Denmark and Southern Sweden, but was brought to England by the Angles, or Jutes, and the poem probably composed by a Mercian, a converted heathen, about the year 660. It would form an admirable text-book, if English schools thought the early literature of their race worth study.—ALBANY F. MAJOR.

*Popular Studies in Mythology and Folklore.* No. 12. *The Edda:*

I. *The Divine Mythology of the North.* By WINIFRED FARADAY, M.A. D. Nutt. 6d.

This is an excellent and scholarly account of the Asa-Faith

and of the various channels through which it has come down to us. The author perhaps hardly attaches sufficient value to Snorri's *Edda*, which may not unfairly be described as a transcript in longhand of the shorthand notes of the poetic *Edda*. Of course there are amplifications in some of the tales, where Snorri lets himself go as a story-teller; but, seeing how saturated with mythology was the poetic speech of the Scandinavian lands, it is clear that a knowledge of the origin of that speech must in the main have been preserved by the skalds, and must have been known to Snorri, who made it his business to explain in his *Skaldskaparmál* the kennings of the northern poetic tongue. Miss Faraday sketches clearly the main points of the mythology and the attributes of the chief gods, touching but lightly on controversial questions, which obviously could not be discussed in a brief handbook. The main points over which issue is joined are, however, indicated sufficiently to guide inquirers who may wish to go more deeply into the subject.—ALBANY F. MAJOR.

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# Folk-Lore.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.

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VOL. XIII.]

SEPTEMBER, 1902.

[No. III.]

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WEDNESDAY, APRIL 23rd, 1902.

Mr. Alfred Nutt (VICE-PRESIDENT) in the Chair.

THE minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. Crooke read a paper entitled, "The Lifting of the Bride" [*infra*, p. 226], and a discussion followed, in which the Chairman, Mr. Gomme, Mr. Bouverie Pusey, Miss Thompson, Mr. Tabor, and the Rev. H. N. Hutchinson took part.

The Meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to Mr. Crooke for his paper.

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WEDNESDAY, MAY 28th, 1902.

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. E. W. Brabrook) in the Chair.

THE minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of Mr. G. Maxwell, Messrs. Holliday & Co., and the Bradford Free Public Library as members of the Society was announced.

The resignation of the Women's Anthropological Society of Washington was also announced.

Mr. M. Longworth Dames read a paper on "Balochi

Folklore" [*infra*, p. 252], which was followed by a discussion, in which Miss Burne, Mr. Bouverie Pusey, Miss Hawkins-Dempster, and the President took part.

The Secretary read a paper by Mr. S. O. Addy on the Collection of English Folklore [*infra*, p. 297], upon which Miss Burne and Miss Hawkins-Dempster offered some observations.

The Meeting terminated with votes of thanks to Mr. Longworth Dames and Mr. Addy for their papers.

The following books, presented to the Society since the last Meeting, were laid on the table:

*Christ Church, Canterbury*, being No. 34 of the *Publications of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*; the *Journal of the African Society*, No. 3; *Die Sprichwörter Hendyngs*, by Dr. Karl Kneuer (presented by the author); and *Transactions of the Glasgow Archæological Society*, vol iv., part ii. (N.S.).

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## THE LIFTING OF THE BRIDE.

BY W. CROOKE, B.A.

(*Read at Meeting of 23rd April, 1902.*)

IN the course of this paper I propose to discuss three groups of early custom, all more or less connected with marriage. Although these groups of custom present some superficial marks of resemblance, which have induced some writers to treat them as identical, they are, I venture to think, in conception distinct, though occasionally, as in the case of most primitive rites, the ideas on which they are based tend to converge, and thus ultimately become identified or regarded as similar in origin.



The first group of custom to which I shall refer is that known in the Border Counties (where alone it seems to prevail in this exact form) as the rite connected with the "Petting" or "Pettin" Stone.

One of the best accounts of this rite which I have seen has been kindly communicated to me by Mr. D. D. Dixon, of Rothbury, Northumberland.<sup>1</sup>

"Some 25 or 30 years ago this custom was performed at Whittingham Parish Church (8½ miles from Alnwick) in the following manner. Directly the wedding party was safely within the church, the doors were shut, and the young men of the village proceeded to erect the 'Petting Stone' within the porch, which, despite the incongruity of the articles, consisted of three short stone pillars, which at one time had been the supports of an old 'trough' tombstone. These were placed 'Stonehenge' fashion immediately in front of the church door, and two of the most sprightly among the young men, generally intimate friends of the bride and bridegroom, were told off to 'jump' the bride over the 'Petting Stone.' These two gallants waited patiently in the church porch, keeping watch and ward by 'keeking' through the keyhole, until the ceremony was concluded, when, as soon as the marriage was duly entered in the church books, and the priest was <sup>seen</sup> coming from the vestry, the church doors were <sup>thrown</sup> <sup>open</sup> <sup>by</sup> <sup>one</sup> <sup>of</sup> <sup>the</sup> <sup>young</sup> <sup>men</sup>. Very often when the vicar (the late Rev. R. W. Goodenough) was in a gleeful mood, he joined in the fun, and thoroughly enjoyed the joke of being the first to jump over the 'Petting Stone.' The bridegroom and the rest of the party were next vaulted over in the same vigorous manner, each of the ladies being saluted with a kiss by the two knights of the 'Petting Stone.' If the fair young bride was foolish enough to demur, and with pouting lips and frowning face objected to the ordeal, she was said to have '*taken the pet*,' and

<sup>1</sup> This is reprinted from an account by the writer published in the *Newcastle Courant* of December, 1888.

her conduct was for some time the theme of gossip throughout the village. When all the party was safely over the barrier, it was customary for the bridegroom to give a fee to the two young men." The money thus obtained was spent in jollification in the evening. Sometimes the church door was tied, and not opened till blackmail was paid.

The present vicar of the parish of Whittingham, who kindly replied to an inquiry from me, gives much the same account of the rite. According to him the bride used to be "jumped" over the "Petting Stone" placed in the church porch on two little pillars opposite the main entrance. He says that the rite has fallen out of use for the last thirty years.

Again, from Bamburgh, Northumberland, the vicar, the Rev. E. Williams, writes: "The custom to which you refer still prevails in this parish. Strange to say on the very day your letter reached me, we had a 'big' wedding in the church, and the custom was duly observed. My wife attempted to photograph the scene, and she thinks she got a satisfactory 'snapshot' of the bridal party in the very act of 'jumping.' Should this turn out well I will gladly send you a copy. It seems that a stool is taken to the churchyard by the villagers, and the bride is 'jumped' over, a man taking hold of each end to help her over."

I regret to say that the photograph, which I hoped to have the pleasure of exhibiting here this evening, has not turned out successfully. I have made many attempts to secure a picture of the rite, but so far without avail. It would be well if some of our members residing in districts where the custom still survives would endeavour to have the scene photographed, particularly as the custom seems to be rapidly falling into disuse.

Again, Miss E. Lamb, of Chathill, Northumberland, to whom I was referred as one of the best local authorities on rural customs, has been kind enough to send me the following account.



"The custom of the bride and bridegroom jumping over the 'Petten Stone,' or 'Petten Stool,' is followed in nearly all the old villages of this county when the wedding is that of natives of the village, that is, among working folk. Just above the common folk the custom is considered 'vulgar,' and the throwing of rice, &c., is indulged in, in imitation of the customs of the upper classes. I have made a point of asking all very old people for years now for an explanation of the custom, but the origin of the rite, or the meaning of it, is hopelessly lost. I gather from my own observation that it is 'etiquette' for the bride to appear to be unwilling to 'jump,' and that the ordeal is made easier if she and the bridegroom have a coin ready to drop into the hand of one of the persons in charge of the 'Stone.' If any stinginess is apprehended, the 'Stone' is raised to a formidable height, but all is done in good humour. When the bride is young and lively she 'jumps' over 'just for fun' very often. The 'Stone' was really a stone in former times; but I see that a four-legged 'form' is often used now. I can remember when I was a very little girl, forty years ago, seeing some young lads erecting the 'Stone' at Belford Church door. It consisted of three upright stone flags set on edge, with one laid flat on the top like a step. When the bride appeared, two young fellows, one at each side of the bride, lifted her bodily over the barrier. The bridegroom leaped lightly over after her, and dropped a coin into the hand of one of the 'bride-lifters.' The custom is much the same now, but is performed often at the gate of the churchyard. Unsympathetic vicars are shocked at the merriment so near the church, when it is done at the door of the building. But the church door is the proper place."

At Ilderton, Northumberland, as I learn from another correspondent,<sup>1</sup> the village people always lock the wedding party into the church till they have pushed gold under the

<sup>1</sup> From a note forwarded by Miss C. S. Burne, to whom I am also indebted for other valuable references.

church door. This was done at a wedding in 1858, and a "form" was placed in the porch over which the party had to jump. The lady who records this case was a little girl at the time, and distinctly remembers at her sister's wedding being helped over the "Stone" by the village chimney-sweep. She was indignant at the dirty man's touch, partly on account of her new white frock, partly because she was quite able to jump over without help, but the man insisted on helping her over.

Lastly, Miss Saidie Thompson has kindly sent me the following account.

"The custom of brides being 'jumped' or being 'lifted' over the 'Petting Stick' was, until quite recently, observed in my native village of Ford, Northumberland. I have been present many times in my childhood at the ceremony, and can recall the mode of procedure distinctly. It was customary at a village wedding for the young men of the place to take a long pole, known as the 'petting-stick,' and hold it across the principal exit from the churchyard, thus barring the bride's exit unless she chose to jump over the obstacle, which, of course, was never held to a very formidable height. The idea was that if the bride was cheerful and agreeable about this hindrance to her progress, and skipped over it with a good grace, the husband was to be regarded as a lucky man, whose partner's amiability was well calculated to make him happy. If, on the other hand, the bride pouted and hung back, or made a difficulty of observing the custom, the poor husband was to be commiserated on the possession of a shrew, whose ill-temper would probably make him smart in the future. I have occasionally seen a bride demur, but eventually yield to persuasion. Only once have I seen one absolutely refuse, and the subsequent result amply justified the belief in the superstition. Most of the brides were only too pleased to 'jump,' and thus create a favourable impression among the assembled company. The husband usually



offered his hand as a support to the bride in her leap, but not infrequently an independent bride preferred to jump over unassisted. The bridegroom then distributed largesse in accordance with his circumstances, and the crowd scrambled for it. The name 'Petting Stick' I have always understood to be connected with the bride's attitude towards the ceremony, since '*taking the pet*' in North Country parlance signifies a sort of sullen hanging-back with the object of being 'fussed' with and persuaded, and no other expression can half so well describe this particular species of ill-humour."

There are numerous printed accounts of the custom, but none which I have seen are, I think, quite so graphic as those which I owe to the kindness of correspondents who have kindly communicated with me on the subject. Thus Henderson<sup>1</sup> speaks of the "petting" or "louping-stone" at Belford, Embleton, and Bamburgh. Hutchinson<sup>2</sup> writes of a cross near the ruins of the church in Holy Island: "It is now called the petting stone. Whenever a marriage is celebrated at the church, after the ceremony the bride is to step upon it, and if she cannot stride to the end thereof it is said the marriage will prove unfortunate." So with the socket stone of St. Ethelwold's Cross in Durham Cathedral Cemetery: "Whenever a marriage is celebrated at the church, after the ceremony the bride has to step over it."<sup>3</sup>

In the cases of Rothbury and Ford noted above, it will be seen that a part, or a modification or addition, of the rite was to bar the church door against the married pair until they submitted to pay blackmail. We have numerous instances of similar proceedings. Thus, in Wales: "After leaving the church where the marriage was celebrated, the

<sup>1</sup> *Folklore of the Northern Counties*, 38.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Durham*, i., 33, quoted by Brand, *Observations*, ii., 167; *Denham Tracts*, ii., 213.

<sup>3</sup> Allen's note in Hogg, *Legend of St. Cuthbert*, quoted in *Second Series Notes and Queries*, v., 264 seq.

bride and bridegroom were besieged by a small knot of people, having ropes in their hands, who had gathered together for the purpose of carrying out the old custom of 'chairing.' The young couple struggled to get free, but were ultimately bound hand and foot, and a somewhat serious disturbance took place."<sup>1</sup> From Glamorganshire, again, we have a case of the newly-married pair being stopped in the village by people holding a band of twisted evergreens and flowers, which the pair could not pass till they paid toll.<sup>2</sup> A friend writes: "The ceremony, I may mention, was practised at my wedding in a country parish adjoining Swansea. No sooner had we got outside the church than we found a string across the path. This was repeated three or four times before we got to the house where the wedding breakfast was held. It was a perfect running of the gauntlet." In Somerset we hear of the gates of the churchyard being barred in the same way.<sup>3</sup>

Customs of the same kind prevail widely in India. Thus according to the standard ritual in Bihâr: "The couple then leave the courtyard and go into the house where the family deity is put. This house is called *kohbar*. At the door they are stopped by the sister of the bride, who requires the bridegroom to repeat certain verses. The bridegroom demands a present for doing so, and on this being given he repeats the verses."<sup>4</sup> More usually in Northern India the married pair are stopped at the door of the house of the bridegroom by his sister or some other near female relative, who will not permit them to enter until she receives a gratuity.

I mention these cases, and many other instances might easily be collected, not as indicating any belief that the customs of "lifting," or "barring," or "chairing," or

<sup>1</sup> Sixth Series *Notes and Queries*, xii., 186.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Second Series, v., 48, 178.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Second Series, v., 178.

<sup>4</sup> Grierson, *Bihâr Peasant Life*, 369.



"chaining" the married pair are identical, but because, as we have seen, one rite seems occasionally to merge into the other, or to be combined with it. It is not easy to give a definite explanation of such rites, and it is quite possible that more than one line of thought has contributed to establish them. The Indian cases may possibly be based on the feeling which would naturally prevail among a community which rigidly practises the law of exogamy, that the newly-married wife is an outsider and must pay some fee to the women of her husband's house before she can be allowed to enter. Again, the fact of the money being pushed under the church door, the blackmail levied on the newly-married pair, and the privilege asserted by the bride-lifters of claiming a kiss from the bride, may suggest the payment of a bride-price to the community, in other words what Lord Avebury would call the commutation for the rights connected with Communal Marriage. Further, the performance of these rites at the church door may represent a pagan or pre-Christian rite of marriage, to which the actual service in the church was a supplement. We know that in ancient times the church door was the place where the marriage rite was performed, and that it was only in the sixteenth century that the service was first done within the church. The same idea may still be traced in the rule that the rite should be performed outside the chancel.<sup>1</sup>

At any rate, it is hardly possible to trace in these rites of bride-barring any suggestion of marriage by capture. Of this we miss the most characteristic note in the fact that the opposition to the removal of the bride is not confined to her own immediate relations. It seems probable that while capture was certainly one and perhaps not an uncommon mode of securing a bride, its effect on the actual ritual of marriage, which was a matter quite separate from the method by which the bride was won, may have been less

<sup>1</sup> See Brand, *Observations*, ii., 133.

potent than writers of the school of the late Mr. McLennan asserted.

Hence Mr. Crawley,<sup>1</sup> the latest writer on the subject, would apparently connect these customs of bride-barring with the idea of sexual taboo, on which he has perhaps laid excessive stress, or he would regard them as symbolical of the barring out of evil influences from the married pair. But it is, perhaps, safer to connect the cases where the married pair are confronted by a physical obstacle, which they cannot pass without paying blackmail, with the principle which has been so fully investigated by Dr. Frazer,<sup>2</sup> who shows that "the magical effect of knots in trammelling and obstructing human activity was believed to be manifested at marriage not less than at birth."

To return to the "Petting Stone" rite. We notice in some of the more modern forms of the observance that a stool or bench takes the place of the single stone, the transition of usage being found in the cases where stones more or less invested with some degree of sanctity are raised in what Mr. Dixon calls "Stonehenge fashion." But there can be little doubt that in the more primitive form of the rite it was over a sacred stone that the bride, and in some cases her newly-wedded husband, or even members of the wedding party, had to "jump" or were "lifted."

Now in many cases such sacred stones are very closely associated with marriage, or with the union of the sexes. I may give a few examples out of a large collection which might easily be made. Thus, according to ancient Hindu custom,<sup>3</sup> the bride stood upon a stone, a rule which still prevails in Esthonia, and is, as will be seen, now part of the ordinary marriage ritual in modern India. There is, again, a considerable amount of evidence that marriages

<sup>1</sup> *The Mystic Rose*, 226.

<sup>2</sup> *The Golden Bough*, Second Edition, i., 394 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> *Folklore Congress Report*, 1891, 269 *seq.*



were once performed at dolmens. Thus, one in North-west Holstein, near Albersdorf, is situated in a plain called "De Brut's Camp," a name which is interpreted to mean "The Bride's Plain," where, according to tradition, marriages used to be solemnised.<sup>1</sup> Young girls come to French dolmens to pray for a lover, and young brides to make vows in the hope of bearing a child, just as girls in England still go to the Rollright Stones to procure oracles of marriage.<sup>2</sup> With such stones in many places an aphrodisiacal cultus is associated, and a visit to them is considered efficacious in cases of barrenness.<sup>3</sup> In England we have the stone at Guisborough in Cleveland on which brides are made to stand, and the Wishing Chair in Finchale Priory Church, of which we are told that "tradition says that this seat was formerly of great repute, and though of stone, it appears much worn by frequent suitors for pregnancy;" Bede's Chair at Jarrow is believed to be efficacious in the same way, and probably most of the chairs used for this purpose were originally of stone, or contained a sacred stone, like the Coronation Chair of Westminster.<sup>4</sup> It is only quite recently that the "Plechting" or "Plighting Stone o' Lairg" has been removed from Sutherlandshire to Canada,<sup>5</sup> and every Irish girl knows that at a dolmen she can never refuse to allow herself to be kissed.

Similar customs connecting marriage with stones are widely spread in India. The Māngs and Kolis of Bombay make the bride stand in a basket in which a stone is placed; and among the Berads the bridegroom stands on a stone, and the bride in a basket of millet.<sup>6</sup> In Bengal, the Kāyasth

<sup>1</sup> Borlase, *Dolmens of Ireland*, ii., 496.

<sup>2</sup> Borlase, *op. cit.*, ii., 580; *Folk-Lore*, vi., 29.

<sup>3</sup> Borlase, *op. cit.*, iii., 846.

<sup>4</sup> *Denham Tracts*, i., 109 *seq.*

<sup>5</sup> *Folk-Lore*, viii., 399. The Gothic custom was: "Uplandi dicunt *stāi pā brada sten*, lapidi lato insistere, quod est foedus jungere." Ihne, *Lex S. Goth.*, i., 262.

<sup>6</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, xx., 173, 155; xxiii., 95.

bride puts her foot on the stone used for grinding spices, which the bridegroom removes,<sup>1</sup> and the same or very nearly the same customs prevail generally at marriages in Northern India.

We reach the explanation of such rites in the rule of the Deshashth Bráhmans of Dharwár. Among them the couple first walk thrice round the sacred fire. A stone called the Āshmā, or "Spirit Stone," that which is used at the funeral rites of the tribe, and into which, like the Churinga of the natives of Australia, the spirit of the dead man is supposed to enter, is kept near the fire, and at each circuit, as the bride followed by the bridegroom approaches this stone, she stands on it till the priest finishes reciting a hymn.<sup>2</sup> Here it seems clear that the idea underlying the rite is that the spirit of one of the tribal or family ancestors occupying the stone becomes reincarnated in her, and so she becomes "a joyful mother of children." For it must be remembered that according to Indian popular belief, all conception is, as the Australian natives believe, the result of a process of this kind, one of the ancestors becoming reborn in each successive generation. Hence, as we have seen, the dolmen which is the home of the spirits of the dead becomes connected with the union of the sexes and the birth of children. By a natural process of development in custom, the rite of stepping over the stone becomes in some places a kind of chastity test, a lady in an "interesting condition" being supposed to be unable to perform the feat of jumping over the stone.<sup>3</sup>

Hence it seems not unreasonable to infer that one at any rate of the ideas on which rites such as those of the "Petting

<sup>1</sup> Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, i., 450.

<sup>2</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, xxii., 81.

<sup>3</sup> With this may be compared the Mabinogion story quoted by Hartland, *Legend of Perseus*, i., 127, and the Lorik tale in Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folklore*, ii., 161. Among the Manchus, the bride, on coming out of the bridegroom's house, has to step over a miniature saddle, as a sign that she will never marry a second husband (*Folk-Lore*, i., 487). In Cumberland women



Stone" are based is that the bride, by jumping over or standing on the sacred stone, absorbs from it some fertilising influence. This idea has now naturally fallen into the background, but curiously enough the substitute which people who once used to practise this rite have chosen to replace it, that of throwing rice in imitation of the customs of the upper classes, is probably based on the same train of thought.

What the real origin of the name "petting stone" may be it is impossible to say. We may at least be certain that the explanation now offered for the observance, that the bride may never "*take the pet*," is a case of folk-etymology.<sup>1</sup>

If the explanation which I have suggested be correct, the rite of the "petting stone" falls into line with the many other fertility charms of the same kind which have been so well illustrated by Mr. Sidney Hartland.<sup>2</sup>

Stepping over things is in popular belief a very serious matter, and the effect of so doing may be illustrated by a few examples. Thus, in the West Indies, an *enceinte* woman will not step over a rod or small branch laid in her path, and it is the rule in India that no one should step over a fallen broom lest he may cause some woman to suffer in labour.<sup>3</sup> In Fife, if a woman step over a "Cutty's Clap," that is a place where a hare has lain, her next child will suffer from hare-lip; in Syria no one must step over the dough while baking, lest some evil influence be communicated to it.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, in Madagascar, if a woman steps over a palanquin-bearer's pole, the skin of jump over a pail placed on the door-sill as a chastity test (Fifth Series *Notes and Queries*, vi., 24). [See the Berkshire collection of Miss L. Salmon, read at meeting of 20th June, 1902, to appear in our December number. To detect a witch, lay two brooms across the doorway. The woman, if a witch, will jump over them, otherwise she will simply step over.]

<sup>1</sup> *Denham Tracts*, i., 67.

<sup>2</sup> *Legend of Perseus*, i., 173 seq.

<sup>3</sup> Sixth Series *Notes and Queries*, iv., 165; Punjab *Notes and Queries*, iv., 28.

<sup>4</sup> *Folk-Lore*, ix., 286, 17.

his shoulders will peel off the next time he raises his burden ; in South Africa, "if a woman steps over her husband's stick he cannot aim or hit anyone with it in a village brawl ; it is simply useless for its proper purpose. If she steps over his assegai it will never kill or even hit an enemy, and it is at once discarded and given to the boys to play and practise with."<sup>1</sup> In these cases the influence is twofold—in some it affects the person who steps over the article, in others the thing stepped over is influenced.

But it is in relation to marriage and fertility charms that the idea is most prominent. Thus, the Jewish bride and bridegroom step seven times over a fish, and the Targum Onkelos on Genesis (c. xlviii.) recites the prayer: "As the fish of the sea, so may they multiply among the sons of men."<sup>2</sup> The virtue of the fish charm is familiar to all students of folklore.<sup>3</sup> With the same object the bride in Egypt leaps over a sword, and the gipsy bride in East Anglia jumps over the bough of a tree laid on the ground in the presence of the chiefs of her tribe. We all know that jumping over the besom or broomstick is a popular form of left-handed marriage.

I pass on to the second group of custom which I propose to consider, that of lifting the bride over the doorstep or threshold on her arrival at the house of her husband. Since the time of Plutarch people have asked: "What should be the reason that they would not permit the new-wedded bride to passe of herselfe over the doore-sill or threshold when she is brought home to her husband's house, but they that accompanie her lift her from the ground, and so convey her

<sup>1</sup> *Folk-Lore Record*, ii., 39 ; *Journal Anthropological Institute*, xx., 130.

<sup>2</sup> *Sixth Series Notes and Queries*, ix., 134 seq. ; viii., 513.

<sup>3</sup> Gubernatis, *Zoological Mythology*, i., 249 seq.

<sup>4</sup> Dalyell, *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, quoting Light, *Travels in Egypt*, 40 ; *Third Series Notes and Queries*, iii., 461. In India if any one leaps over you he communicates his diseases to you. The counter-charm is to make him leap back again, *Journal Anthropological Society of Bombay*, i., 359 ; and compare Crawley, *Mystic Rose*, 113, 207.



in?"<sup>1</sup> The common explanation here is, of course, that we have in this custom a survival of marriage by capture. But, as in the case of the Petting Stone rite, it is difficult to admit that this mode of gaining a bride affects marriage ritual. Further, the fact that in many cases the lifting of the bride is done by members of her own kindred who escort her to her new home, and the absence in most cases of even the pretence of force, throw doubt on this explanation of the practice. I venture to suggest that we must look in other directions than that of capture marriage for an explanation of the question which Plutarch proposes.

We are on safe ground when we assume that the threshold is a sacred place. "That the door or the threshold is the seat of a tutelary spirit or genius is a belief familiar enough in folklore; the door must not be banged, nor wood chopped on the threshold, for fear of disturbing him. He is apt to disappear, taking the luck of the house with him, if a cat is buried under the door-sill, or if human hair be so buried."<sup>2</sup> The temple threshold was naturally peculiarly sacred. The priests of Dagon dared not touch the threshold of his shrine; to leap over the threshold was a grievous form of insult: "and in that day I will punish all those that leap over the threshold, which fill their master's house with violence and deceit."<sup>3</sup> Why it is sacred is a question difficult to determine, and need not detain us here. According to Dr. Trumbull its sanctity is connected with the hearth placed at the door of the hut of the savage or the tent of the nomad. It has also been regarded as marking the limit which separates the friendly house-spirits from the vagrant hostile ghosts, which flit about the outer darkness and beset the household. But when we find that it is specially the abiding place of the family genius or guardian spirit, we may guess that both the threshold and the foundation stone (both being

<sup>1</sup> *Romane Questions*, cap. 29.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, ed. Jevons, *Intro.*, xcv. seq.

<sup>3</sup> *1 Samuel* v. 2; *Zephaniah* i. 9. Also compare the Passover rite, for which see *Encyclopædia Biblica*, iii., 3595.

possibly originally identical) were analogues of the Āshmā stone of India and of the Churinga of the natives of Australia, to which reference has already been made:—in short, that they represented the sacred stones in which the ancestral spirit was confined. Hence it may be suggested that in some cases, as in the instances which we have been considering, the rite of lifting the bride over it may have been regarded as a charm intended to promote her fertility.

Reviewing other cases of lifting, it may be noted that it is not confined to marriage. Thus, in Central Asia, when a boy is about to undergo the rite of circumcision, he is carried to the place where the operation is to be performed on the shoulders of another boy.<sup>1</sup> The same is the rule at the cruel initiation ceremonies of the natives of Australia.<sup>2</sup> Among the Tsinyai of Central Africa, after a funeral one of the wives of the deceased is carried from the burial place on the shoulders of a man.<sup>3</sup>

The only reasonable explanation of these practices seems to be that persons undergoing such rites are in a state of taboo. Now this conception of taboo acts in two quite different ways. In the one, as in the case of the girl at the period when she reaches womanhood, the tabooed person is supposed to communicate some dangerous influence which is prejudicial to the land and its inhabitants. Hence she is suspended in a cage and her feet are not allowed to touch the ground.<sup>4</sup> In the other, the person under taboo is himself or herself regarded as specially liable to be affected by the Evil Eye or other dangerous influences, and one source of danger is supposed to lie in his or her touching the ground. With this latter belief we may compare the

<sup>1</sup> Schuyler, *Turkistan*, i., 141.

<sup>2</sup> Roth, *Ethnographical Studies*, fig. 415, and pp. 170 *seq.*; *Journal Anthropological Institute*, xiii., 455.

<sup>3</sup> *Journal Anthropological Institute*, xxiii., 421.

<sup>4</sup> Frazer, *Golden Bough*, Second Edition; i., 326; iii., 304 *seq.*; Crawley, *Mythic Rite*, 99.



cases of the girl who is going to graft vines, whose hair must not touch the ground, and of the healing water of Scotland—"if it once touches the ground its healing virtue is gone."<sup>1</sup> The other possible solution, that the lifting over the threshold may depend on the idea that the bride is by virtue of her state of taboo in a condition of impurity, and that it would be offensive to the threshold spirit and consequently dangerous to herself to touch the sacred stone, seems on the whole less probable. As the bride is touched and kissed by the persons who take part in the "petting-stone" rite, the idea that she is in a state of ceremonial impurity does not seem tenable. The suggestion of Mr. Crawley that the lifting is associated with "sexual taboo," "woman's shyness, timidity, and modesty, accentuated by the physiological sensibility which resists physical subjugation," seems still less likely.<sup>2</sup> It seems questionable how far such feelings are potential in savage life; and in the case of the threshold lifting, the ceremonial character of the rite tends perhaps to increase the difficulty of accepting this suggestion.

In some cases, again, the idea of luck may have influenced the practice. It may have been considered essential to the happiness of the bride's married life that when she enters for the first time the house in which she is to spend the rest of her days she should tread on, or be lifted over, a sacred stone. For the same reason it was considered essential that in crossing the threshold the bride and bridegroom should do so right foot foremost, an idea which is as old as the Grihyasūtra of India.<sup>3</sup> In Wiltshire up to quite recent times it was the rule that the bride's feet should not touch

<sup>1</sup> *Folk-Lore*, xii., 196; xi., 448. A cloak was also spread for the girl to kneel upon. The idea seems to be that the earth might get the benefit of the "virtue" which is wanted elsewhere.

<sup>2</sup> *Mythic Rite*, 350.

<sup>3</sup> *Folklore Congress Report*, 273; *Journal Anthropological Society Bombay*, i., 294; Löbel, *Hochzeitsbräuche in der Türkei*, 143, 171, *seq.* For the last reference I am indebted to Mr. Hartland.

the threshold when she returned from the honeymoon, and the same is, or was, the rule in Scotland.<sup>1</sup> But this idea was probably a later conception based on the older ceremonial observance.

The lifting over the threshold may then be in some cases a fertility charm; in others it may have been intended to protect the bride from some contamination, or to avoid ill-luck.

Cases of bride-lifting are specially common in India, and though the meaning of the rite is now obscured by the fact that the bride is usually quite a little girl, whom it is necessary to carry to the marriage pavilion, the explanation above suggested seems to be the most easy method of accounting for the observance. At any rate, the fact that the lifting is done by the near relations of the bride, and that it is not connected with even the vaguest pretence of a scuffle, puts the suggestion that it is a survival of marriage by capture out of the question. Thus, at the wedding dance of the Orâons, the pair are borne round seated on the hips of two of their friends, and they must not touch the ground.<sup>2</sup> The Khond bride is covered with a red blanket, perhaps as a protective against the Evil Eye, and is carried astride on the shoulders of her maternal uncle to her husband's village, accompanied by a procession of the other young women of her clan.<sup>3</sup> Among the Kattâis, a tribe of leather-workers of Ahmadnagar, on the wedding night the bride and bridegroom are lifted by their respective maternal uncles, and a

<sup>1</sup> Eighth Series *Notes and Queries*, x., 328; Dalryell, *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, 291. An instance is quoted from Lincolnshire in 1888. "When the carriage containing the bride and bridegroom drove up to the door of the bridegroom's father, the husband lifted his wife from the carriage and carried her up the steps and into the house." Eighth Ser. *N. and Q.*, x., 328.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal Asiatic Society Bengal*, N.S., xxxv., pt. ii., 180. The custom, of course, is not peculiar to India. It prevails among the native American races, for instance the Nahuas and Californians.—Bancroft, *Native Races of the Pacific States*, i., 411; ii., 261.

<sup>3</sup> Maltby Leman, *Manual of Ganjam District*, 69



sort of war-dance, known as the Jhandâ, is performed.<sup>1</sup> Among the Kanjâris, a begging tribe in the same district, the father or some elder of the bridegroom's family lifts him on his shoulders, while the bride's father lifts her; they dance in a circle seven times, after which the clothes of the pair are knotted together, which is the final act of the marriage service.<sup>2</sup> The Vârlis, a jungle tribe of the Thâna district, vary the rite by making one of the bride's relations lift the bridegroom and convey him to a booth, where they seat him on their shoulders and dance.<sup>3</sup> At a marriage among the Bhils the maternal uncle of the bride takes the pair on his shoulders and dances to the rhythm of a wedding song.<sup>4</sup> The same customs generally prevail among many of the lower castes throughout India. As might be expected, they can give no intelligible explanation of these rites. "The bridegroom is a king and the bride a queen" on this occasion, some say, and should be treated accordingly. But it may be safely assumed that such rites, now classed as honorific, were in origin precautionary, and intended to provide protection of persons in a state of taboo against some form of demoniacal influence, one and the chief of which would naturally be that which tended to prevent the marriage from being fertile. Generally, however, the stereotyped answer is that they do it because their forefathers did it before them. This appeal to well-established custom is from their point of view quite conclusive.

In this connection, where we may suspect a transition from precautionary or protective observances to those which have now come to be regarded as simply honorific, the large chapter of folklore which prescribes the things on which the bride may or may not sit, stand, or walk, is instruc-

<sup>1</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, xvii., 109.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 180. Here the knotting of the clothes is merely symbolical of the union of the couple in marriage, and is apparently quite distinct from the "chaining" rite referred to above.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, xiii., pt. i., 185.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, vi., 31.

tive. Most of these appear to fall within one or other of the classes which we have been considering, that is to say, they are either due to the belief in some kind of fertility charm or are connected with taboo.

Thus, among fertility charms we may class the seating of the bride on a bull's hide, which was an ancient Aryan rite still prevailing among the Hindus of South India and the Gypsies of Transylvania.<sup>1</sup> Other Hindus, probably with the same object, seat her on a mat made of sacred grass, or of the leaves of some holy tree; or she is placed on a stool which is sometimes provided with a cushion made of sacred grass, and the Manchu bride sits on a special red chair.<sup>2</sup> In some parts of India a bullock-saddle or a plough-yoke is selected as the seat of the bride, or she is made to step over it, thus claiming a share in the invigorating life of the cattle and field-crops.<sup>3</sup> Or again, she stands in a basket such as is used in garnering the grain on the threshing-floor, a custom which is very common in Northern India, where a line of baskets is often laid on the ground from the place where she leaves her litter to the door of the house, and stepping on these she makes her ceremonious entry into her husband's household. It is a comical sight to watch the bride performing this feat; it is rather like the crossing of one of our fords, where the current is strong and the stepping-stones placed unpleasantly far apart. In order to intensify the charm, these baskets are often half filled with millet or some other grain.<sup>4</sup> In some cases the charm seems to be supposed to act vicariously, as when the influence reaches the bride through her mother, who

<sup>1</sup> *Folklore Congress Report*, 273, 340; Boswell, *Manual of Nellore District*, 23; Hartland, *Legend of Perseus*, i., 124, note.

<sup>2</sup> Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, i., 449, 503; Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces*, iii., 141, 290; ii., 291; *Bombay Gazetteer*, xvii., 205; xx., 163; *Folk-Lore*, i., 491.

<sup>3</sup> Nelson, *Manual of the Madura District*, 82; *Bombay Gazetteer*, xx., 93; xxii., 14; Risley, *op. cit.*, i., 508, 467; for the Manchus, *Folk-Lore*, i., 487.

<sup>4</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, xvii., 177; xviii., pt. i., 350, 442; xxiii., 95; Crooke, *op. cit.* ii., 87.



stands in a basket when the bridegroom comes to claim her daughter.<sup>1</sup>

We have possibly a hint of the same idea of vicarious influence in the cases noted above where members of the wedding party, and even the vicar himself, join in the jump over the Petting Stone. We have another similar case among the Greeks of Turkey, where the Kumbaros and Kumbara, the persons who stand behind the bridegroom and bride during the ceremony, are lifted into the air when the marriage rite is concluded.<sup>2</sup>

In India, again, the pestle used in pounding grain, for reasons which are sufficiently obvious, is often selected for the bride to tread on, or she is seated on a blanket, thus associating her with the fertility of the flocks, while among the Nambûris of Malabar, as the pair are escorted into the nuptial chamber, a blanket is spread on the ground with a white cloth over it, and hemmed in with edges of rice, on which the pair are seated by the officiating priest.<sup>3</sup>

While all or most of these are probably fertility charms, the English cases are less easily explained. I have no evidence to show what the history of these practices may be. But if they do not prove to be comparatively modern inventions, part of the ordinary amusements or buffoonery accompanying a village marriage, they are possibly worn-down survivals of some primitive usages. Thus, at Knutsford, in Cheshire, silver sand, locally called "great," "greet," or "grit," is spread before the bride's house in the form of wreaths of flowers, on which she is expected to tread.<sup>4</sup> In Sunderland this is now replaced by sawdust, or even by a strip of carpet.<sup>5</sup> At Cranbrook, in Kent,

<sup>1</sup> Crooke, *op. cit.*, ii., 91.

<sup>2</sup> Löbel, *op. cit.*, 143

<sup>3</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, xvii., 105; xxiii., 168; xxi., 195; Logan, *Manual of Malabar*, i., 151, 128.

<sup>4</sup> *Fifth Series Notes and Queries*, v., 186.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, First Series, viii., 617; Second Series, x., 246. Cf. also Newcastle-on-Tyne, in *Henderson*, p. 40.

again, "when a newly married pair leave the church, the path is strewed with emblems of the bridegroom's calling. Thus carpenters walk on shavings, butchers on sheepskins, shoemakers on leather parings, and blacksmiths on scraps of old iron."<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, chaff or straw seems to have an evil significance when used in this way. It was threatened in the case of Babelchen in Goethe's *Faust*, and in England such substances are habitually sprinkled before the doors of wife-beaters.<sup>2</sup> The final stage is reached when brides in our time walk on a red carpet or village maids strew flowers in their path. These customs have now become purely decorative or honorific, but, like most popular customs, it is possible from the analogies which have been quoted that their origin and significance may lie much deeper than is commonly supposed.

The same specialisation of custom appears in connection with another group of usages of the same kind—those which regulate the conveyance of the married pair. In India it is regarded as very important that the Jangam bridegroom, who once used to ride on a bullock at his wedding, now follows Brâhman custom in using a horse; that the Chârans go on ponies or walk, but may not ride in a cart; that the Mâli bride goes in a palanquin, the groom on a pony, or in a sort of sedan-chair; that the Mârwarî bridegroom is mounted on an ass; that the Kharwâr bride goes in a litter which must be in the form of a boat.<sup>3</sup> All this has, or once had, some significance; but the explanation, whatever it may have been, is lost, and no one can give a better explanation than: "It is the custom; if we did otherwise bad luck would surely follow." The Mârwarî custom of mounting the bridegroom on an ass is said to be connected with the propitiation of Sitalâ, the smallpox goddess, whose sacred

<sup>1</sup> Murray, *Handbook to Kent*, 128.

<sup>2</sup> Henderson, *Folklore of the Border Counties*, 32; First Series *Notes and Queries*, 245, 294; Seventh Series, v., 405; Eighth Series, iii., 327.

<sup>3</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, xxii., 112; xii., 111; Risley, *op. cit.*, ii., 60; Crooke, *op. cit.*, iii., 481, 246.



animal this is. Possibly some ideas of the same kind may account for similar practices.

The third and last group of customs connected with lifting need not detain us long, and I refer to them here because it has been sometimes considered that they are in some way analogous to those other classes of "lifting" which we have been considering. This is the custom of men lifting women, or women lifting men at certain special seasons of the year. Most of the cases which I have noted come from the north-western counties, where it would almost seem that the usage has become specialised. Thus, in Westmoreland, on New Year's Day, women were, or are, lifted on a ladder or pole, or occasionally on a chair or "swill" (which, according to Halliwell, is a large wicker basket used for carrying fish), and taken to a public-house, where they were obliged to provide ale for the company. If this was not given, the woman's shoe was taken off and left as a pledge with the ale-wife, from whom the owner had to redeem it by paying the bill.<sup>1</sup> In Shropshire, according to Miss Burne,<sup>2</sup> the practice was common; Easter Monday and Tuesday being known as "Heaving" Monday and Tuesday. On Monday the men "heaved" the women, and on Tuesday the women the men. "An old bookseller," she writes, "told me in 1881, that in his 'prentice days at Ludlow he and his companions were accustomed to 'heave' all the young girls of their acquaintance. Parties of young men went from house to house carrying a chair decorated with evergreens, flowers, and ribbons, a basin of water, and a posy. 'What were the basin and the posy for?' I asked, and the old man smiled with amusement at my ignorance. 'Oh,' said he, 'it's quite plain you have never been heaved;' and he proceeded to explain that the posy was dipped in water, and

<sup>1</sup> *Denham Tracts*, ii., 31. The forfeit of shoes, spurs, or buckles seems common, see Henderson, *op. cit.*, 84; Brand, i., 93; and Hone, *Year Book*, 751.

<sup>2</sup> *Shropshire Folklore*, 336 *seq.*

the young woman's feet sprinkled with it 'by way of a blessing,' while she was held aloft in the gaily decorated chair. . . . Others give more details of the ceremony. The chair must be lifted from the ground three times and turned round in the air, . . . and the feet then sprinkled with the bunch of flowers dipped in water. The heaving party were rewarded with a kiss, and generally when the men were 'heaved,' by a gift of money. Those who refused to be 'heaved' had to pay forfeit. . . . In Durham and Yorkshire 'heaving' is disused, but the forfeit for its omission is still exacted. The boys may pull off the shoes from the girls' unblessed feet on Easter Sunday, and the girls may retaliate on the boys' caps on Monday."

The same proceedings take place at Easter in other places also. The Rev. Peter Roberts, writing about 1815,<sup>1</sup> says: "On Easter Monday and Tuesday a ceremony takes place among the lower orders in North Wales which is scarcely known, I believe, elsewhere. It is called 'lifting,' as it consists in lifting a person in a chair three times from the ground. On Monday the men lift the women, and on Tuesday the women lift the men. The ceremony ceases, however, at twelve o'clock. The 'lifters,' as they are called, go in troops, and with a permitted freedom seize the person whom they intend to 'lift,' and having persuaded or obliged him (or her) to sit on the chair, lift whoever it is, three times with cheering, and then require a small compliment. A little resistance, real or pretended, creates no small merriment; much resistance would excite contempt, and perhaps indignation. That this custom owes its origin to the season needs no illustration."

And so on the Welsh Border, a writer in the *Montgomery Collections* of the Powys-land club,<sup>2</sup> speaking of the "lifting" or "heaving day," says: "'Pullye, haul

<sup>1</sup> *Cambrian Popular Antiquities*, p. 125.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted in *Fourth Series Notes and Queries*, viii., 328.



ye' Monday and Tuesday were observed thirty years ago at the beginning of April. . . . The custom was originally meant, it is said, to represent the Crucifixion of Our Saviour—the dressing (in gay ribbons) being intended to set forth the clothing of our Lord with the purple robe; the lifting, the nailing on the Cross; the kiss, the betrayal; the reward, the thirty pieces of silver."

There is some difference among the authorities as to the day on which these proceedings occurred. Mr. Sidney Hartland writes that he remembers the ceremony of "lifting" being performed on Easter Monday and Tuesday in the early "fifties." As far as he recollects it was the men who were lifted on Monday, and the women on Tuesday. Brand<sup>1</sup> also fixes Easter Monday at Warrington, Bolton, and Manchester as the day on which women heaved the men. This also appears in perhaps one of the earliest accounts, as given by Miss Strickland.<sup>2</sup> "There is an old custom, still remembered in Warwickshire, called 'heaving.' On Easter Monday, the women servants of every household clamorously enter the chamber or sitting-room of the master of the family, or any 'stranger beneath his roof,' and, seating him in a chair, lift him therein from the ground, and refuse to set him down till he compounds for his liberty by a gratuity. Seven of Queen Eleanora's (of Castile) ladies, on the Easter Monday of 1290, unceremoniously invaded the chamber of King Edward (the First), and seizing their majestic master, proceeded to 'heave him' in his chair till he was glad to pay a fine of fourteen pounds to enjoy 'his own peace,' and be set at liberty."

There are numerous accounts of similar practices in the North of England and in parts of the Midlands.<sup>3</sup> A fort-

<sup>1</sup> *Observations*, i., 182.

<sup>2</sup> *Lives of the Queens of England*, Fourth Edition, i., 441, quoting *Wardrobe Book of Edward I.*, fol. 456. Also see Brand, *op. cit.*, i., 181, quoting a paper by Lysons communicated to the Society of Antiquaries.

<sup>3</sup> Hone, *Everyday Book*, ed. 1878, i., 211 *seq.*; Chambers, *Book of Days*, i., 425, 429; in Lancashire, Fourth Series *Notes and Queries*, i., 327; Salop,

night after Easter similar ceremonies were, or are, performed on what is known as "Hocktide Day," or "Kissing Day," as it is called at Hungerford, on the eve of which this paper was read before the Society.<sup>1</sup>

It will be noticed that part of the rite is the ceremonial lustration, which Dr. Tylor describes as the "transition from practical to symbolic cleansing, from removal of bodily impurity to deliverance from invisible, spiritual, and at last moral evil."<sup>2</sup> It would thus be a suitable rite for the New Year; and many customs practised in some places at the New Year, as for instance the "new fire" rite, are in other places practised at Easter.

The proceedings are also supposed to be in some way emblematical of the final tragedy of the Christian faith; or, as Hone chooses to put it, "handed down from the bewildering ceremonies of the Romish Church." It is, of course, possible that the idea may have been in some cases derived from one of the mediæval mystery-plays. But the occurrence of such ceremonies at seasons connected with pagan spring rites makes it sufficiently clear that they must have a different origin.

This view is strengthened by the fact that in some parts of the country celebrations of this kind are specially performed at harvest-time. Thus, in Berwickshire, what is known as the "Bicker-rade," or "Up in Air," consists in "bumping" women at harvest time.<sup>3</sup> Those who have made themselves popular during the season of reaping are let off lightly; but those who have made themselves

Sixth Series, viii., 234, where, as in the cases referred to above, the woman's legs and feet were brushed with a bunch of box; Cheshire, Sixth Series, vii., 308; Ripon, *Ibid.*, viii., 94; xi., 404; Crewe, First Series, vi., 194; Shropshire Fifth Series, iii., 465; v., 453. A woman's shoe was taken off at Gateshead on Easter Monday because she refused to give an egg, *Folk-Lore Journal*, vii., 318.

<sup>1</sup> *Folk-Lore*, ix., 281 *seq.*; Chambers, *Book of Days*, i., 498 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Primitive Culture*, ii., 429.

<sup>3</sup> *Bicker* apparently meaning "quarrel, contention," for which see *New English Dictionary*.



obnoxious to their comrades suffer more severely.<sup>1</sup> So, in Yorkshire, it is or used to be the custom to shake in a sheet every newly married woman the first time she came a-gleaning; and in Fife and Kinross to seize and "dump" any person who happens to pass the harvest field. This is called "Dumping," or "Benjie," and "head-money" is demanded from the victims.<sup>2</sup>

It seems clear that all or most of these customs, which as we have seen are associated with the seasons of sowing and reaping, are survivals of those forms of Saturnalian observances which in all parts of the world take place at the sowing or first springing of the seed and the garnering of the harvest, when more or less sexual licence is tolerated.<sup>3</sup>

The conclusion which I venture to suggest is that these customs connected with "lifting" fall into two classes. What may be called the "Petting Stone" group of rites are probably fertility charms. Those connected with the threshold are based either on the same belief, or are intended as protectives against various forms of evil influences which beset the bride at the commencement of her married life. Quite distinct are the Spring and Autumn "lifting" rites, which probably fall within the Saturnalia class. All three seem to be worn-down survivals of customs which, when viewed in the light of similar usages among people whom we are pleased to call "savages," lead us back to a series of conceptions dating from the very infancy of humanity.

W. CROOKE.

<sup>1</sup> *Second Series Notes and Queries*, iv., 144.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, ii., 352; *Folk-Lore*, vii., 52.

<sup>3</sup> *Frazer, Golden Bough*, Second Edition, iii., 78, 306.

## BALOCHI FOLKLORE.

BY M. LONGWORTH DAMES, I.C.S. (retired), M.R.A.S.

(*Read at Meeting of 28th May, 1902.*)

THE Balochi race is spread over a wide extent of country, from the valley of the Indus in Sindh and the Panjab to the southern part of the province of Kirmān in Persia, and occupies a great portion, though not the whole, of the intervening country shown on our maps under the name of Balochistan. I do not intend, on this occasion, to enter into questions relating to its ethnological affinities, but will merely state that it appears to belong to the old Iranian stock, and that the Balochi language is certainly an Iranian dialect. The branch of the race with which I am concerned is that inhabiting the mountain country west of the Indus Valley, and spreading into the plains of the country known as the Derajat, and especially those tribes which still retain the use of the Balochi language. I must confess that my collections of materials were made originally mainly for purposes of philology, and only indirectly for reasons more strictly connected with folklore. I was very anxious especially to preserve from destruction, while it was still possible, the remnants of the popular poetry of the Baloches before it disappears from the world along with their language, and I am happy to think that I met with some success in this object. I also took down, without modification or doctoring, a number of stories in prose, and translations of about twenty of these were published some years ago in "*Folk-Lore*."<sup>1</sup> I am glad to say that the collection of poems has now been taken up by the Rev. T. J. M. Mayer, of Dera Ghazi Khan, and I hope that we have succeeded in rescuing the greater

<sup>1</sup> Vol. iii., 517; vol. iv., 195, 285, 518; vol. viii., p. 77.



portion of the heroic ballads, as well as a good deal of more modern poetry. These ballads are the most valuable material for the legendary history of the race. They date probably for the most part from the early part of the sixteenth century, and relate mainly to the last great migration of the Baloches which led them to their present positions. Some of the prose narratives are also derived from ballads, and occasionally embody fragments of poems which are now lost. There is less foreign influence in these than in the majority of the prose stories, which are evidently to a great extent borrowed from Persian or Indian neighbours; picked up, perhaps, in the bazaars of Kalāt, Quetta, Shikārpur, or Dera Ghazi Khan, from Persians at Bampūr, Arabs at Gwādar, Panjābi soldiers at Rājanpur or Bombay sepoy at Jacobabad.

The ballads, though never hitherto written down, yet have a distinct style of their own which may be called literary; and new ones are still composed and sung on the old pattern. There is a stock of poetical or archaic words and phrases which are not used in the language of common life, but which inevitably appear in the war-ballad or the love-song. Every tribe has attached to it a few families, called by the Indian name *Dom* or the Persian *Lorī*, who are not Baloches by blood or in features, but live among them and speak their language. The Doms are of Indian origin, probably aboriginal. Among the Baloches the tribal Dom quite identifies himself with the tribe, and sings their war-songs with great spirit. But the Doms do not themselves make the ballads. The poets are invariably pure-blooded Baloches, but it is not consistent with their dignity to sing them in public, so the poet always gets a Dom to whom he teaches the words. The Dom sings them in public to the accompaniment of the *dambīro* or *sarīndā*. Both of these are stringed instruments, the *dambīro* being played with the fingers like a guitar, while the *sarīndā*, a more elaborate instrument with six or seven gut strings,

is held upright like a violoncello, and played with a horse-hair bow.<sup>1</sup>

Another instrument, the *nar* or pipe, is used for accompanying the short love-songs known as *dastānagh*, to which I shall allude later. The style of singing with the *nar* accompaniment is peculiar to the hill-tribes. The singer and player sit on the ground with their heads close together, and the singer drops his voice to the pitch of the instrument, which seemed to me to be an octave below the natural voice. He takes a long breath and sings the whole song through in one breath, ending with a deep gasp when exhausted, the voice seeming to proceed from the stomach. The effect is very peculiar, but not at all disagreeable, and the accompaniments are very pleasant embroideries on the original air. This style of singing is never used for the long ballads, which are accompanied on the stringed instruments.

The poem often begins with an invocation to the minstrel, addressed as "sweet singing Lorī," to bring forth his instrument and sing; the instrument being alluded to by the name of the wood it is made of, either the *phārpugh* (Tecoma) or the *Shāgh* (Grewia). Then the song commences a ballad, perhaps of recent tribal wars or one of the old heroic ballads of the Balochi Iliad, the great thirty years' war between the Rinds and Lashāris over the fair Gohar, the Helen of the tale. She was the mistress of great herds of camels, and Mir Chākar, the Rind Chief, and Gwaharām, the Lashāri Chief, contended for her hand. Gohar preferred Chākar, and there was wrath among the Lashāris, but the final outbreak was brought about by the incident of the horse-race. Two young chiefs, one on each side, backed their mares for a prize, a fat sheep belonging to a Mochi, and the Rinds by trickery made out that their champion had won. It is worth notice, that though most of the

<sup>1</sup> The *sarindā* sometimes has sympathetic wires under the gut strings, like the Indian *sārangi*.



ballads reach us from a Rind source, it is always admitted that the Rinds acted dishonestly on this occasion. The Lashāris went off in wrath, and some hot-headed young men, coming across Gohar's herd of female camels with their young ones, killed some of the young camels. As they came back in the evening, the female camels in their distress stirring up the dust, the milk dripping from their udders, Chākar also arrived at Gohar's tents. He asked what had happened, and Gohar tried to put him off, saying that the young camels had died from eating poison bushes; but he quickly got the truth out of the herdsman, and swore an oath to take revenge on the Lashāri, to "gamble with hair and heads and turbans." So the war began, and lasted for thirty years, till the "teeth dropped from their heads." The Rinds had ultimately the worst of it, and Chākar led them to the Panjab, where other tribes had already gone before. Another set of ballads deals with the wars which took place there, and their attack on Delhi with Humāyūn. There is a certain amount of real history mixed up with all this. Chākar was a real leader of the Baloches, and was living in Humāyūn's time, but history does not tell us whether the Baloches took part in his expedition to recover his kingdom. If they did, it is evident that their share in it was not quite so important as their poems represent it. Chākar figures in the ballads as a man of wonderful powers: we are told how he fought with an elephant, having no weapon except a dog which was lying asleep in the road; and other surprising adventures. He looked back on Sibi from a hill still called Chākar-Māri, although Sibi is not really visible from it; he was fleeing through the Chākar-tankh, or Chākar's defile, with a herd of buffaloes, which were turned into stones to obstruct his enemies. They are still to be seen in the form of boulders scattered about the pass.

There is perhaps a mythological element in some of the stories, which may go back to pre-Muhammadan times.

Nodhbandagh, father of Gwaharām, is the Giver, the gold-scatterer, the typical generous man, who made holes in his money-bag, so that every one might pick up the gold, and gave all his clothes to a ragged Dom, taking his old shirt in exchange. This shirt he divided into two parts, one for his wife and one for himself. In the night a laden camel came and sat down in front of his tent. He told his wife to go out and smell the camel, as if it had a pleasant smell, and not the ordinary smell of a camel, it was sent from heaven; and so it was. The camel was laden with garments of every kind both for man and woman. The name Nodhbandagh is an almost literal translation of the Greek "cloud-compeller," and it is impossible not to suspect that we have here a fragment of some forgotten mythology. Nodhbandagh's son was Gwaharām, one of the heroes of the poems, and his name represents in Balochi the Middle Persian Varahrān, that is the Avestic Verethraghna, the Vṛitrahan or Indra of the Veda, the deity of the storm-cloud.

Some of the ballads go further back than the sixteenth century, and profess to account for the origin of the Baloches, who are said to be descended from Mir Hamza, uncle of the prophet Muhammad, and to have their commencement at Halab, or Aleppo. Mir Hamza was married to a Peri, who saw him while he was bathing in a lake, but their child was for some reason abandoned in the wilderness, whence the story-tellers derive the name Baloch from *bar*, wilderness, and *luch*, naked, *i.e.*, naked in the wilderness. This bit of popular etymology is, perhaps, not of great antiquity, and the old ballads do not mention the Peri, but simply say that the Baloches are descended from Mir Hamza. A more interesting story relates to their adventures in Sistān, where historical traces of their presence may be found from the tenth century onwards. They were well received by the King Shamsuddin, but another king demanded brides from them, one from each of the forty-four



clans of which they then consisted. This was an insult to the Baloches. (Even in the nineteenth century the Khosas went to war rather than give a bride to the Nawāb of Bahāwalpur.) So they temporised, and sent forty-four boys dressed as girls to the king. As they were still young they were made over to the care of nurses, but as they grew up in the king's zenana, the king's suspicions were raised, and the nurses in charge of the boys were put to the question by an original and, I believe, unique method. They were clothed in leathern *shalwārs*, or trousers, loose garments fastened tight at the ankles, and inside these cats were turned loose! The eldest of the boys, to save them, then made a clean breast of it on receiving the king's promise of pardon. The king kept his word, and sent the boys back to their clans, but immediately pursued them with all his forces. He was, however, defeated, and their exodus to Mekrān was safely accomplished. There they had a great chief named Jalāl Khān, who had four sons and one daughter who have given their names to the five principal divisions of the race. The story goes that Rind, the eldest son, had been appointed heir by his father and proceeded to perform the funeral ceremonies by erecting an *āsrokh*, or platform; but Hot, the second son, refused to join him, and started a separate ceremony for himself. Thereupon the others followed suit, "and there were five *āsrokh*s in Kech." The forty-four clans distributed themselves, some joining one and some another, and hence the five great tribes: Rind, Lashāri, Hot, Korai, and Jatoi, to one of which nearly all the modern tribes trace their descent.

Thus we find a reproduction in modern times of the fiction of descent from an eponymic ancestor, for there can be little doubt that the tribal names are older than those of their supposed ancestors. Many so called patronymics are in reality either local names like *Lashāri*, from the country called Lāshār, or nicknames like *Rind*, a vagabond. The bards of each modern tribe delight to trace the genealogy

of their chiefs to the heroes of the ballads, and many stories are told to account for the names the tribes now bear. For instance, the Legharis are said to be descended from a Rind named Koh-phrosh, or Stone-crusher, from his strength. In the course of the war with the Lashāris, a number of Lashāri women who had been taken captive by the Turks were made over to Chākar for safe custody, and he arranged for their protection in accordance with Balochi custom (for up to the present day in tribal warfare the Baloches respect and protect women and children). Chākar every night set a trustworthy warrior to guard the women, but Koh-phrosh betrayed his trust, and was accused by the women in the morning. Chākar then said that henceforth he was not to be called Koh-phrosh but Leghār, *i.e.*, foul or dirty. It is hardly necessary to state that the Leghāris do not admit the truth of this story. They do admit that Leghār was a nickname bestowed upon their ancestor by Chākar, but say it was an honourable appellation, given to Koh-phrosh when he came out of the fight covered with blood and dust. Two other tribes, the Drishaks and Gishkhauris, are said to be descended from warriors who were placed on guard over the same women, who distinguished themselves by holding up the roof of the shed in which the women were, when it threatened to collapse in a storm. Drishak is said to mean "strong man" (in some unknown tongue, not Balochi), and Gishkhaur is said to mean "house-post," although there can be little doubt that in reality it is a territorial name, from the Gishkhaur, the name of a stream. The Lunds are similarly said to be descended from 'Ali, a relation of Mir Chākar. He stole the water from an embankment which Chākar had thrown across a stream to water his crops, and turned it on to his own fields. When called to account, he replied, "I only broke your embankment to feed your oven," *i.e.*, to supply Chākar's kitchen with food; on which Chākar said, "You are a great idiot" (Lund).



One legend as to the origin of the Gurchanis represents that a certain Hot, who was with Mir Chākar, went out to hunt the wild ass in the desert, but met with no success. He, however, found a child in the desert and brought him home. The women called to him to know whether he had killed a wild ass, on which he pointed to the child and said, "This is the wild ass" (in Balochi, "*Gor esh*"). Hence the child was called Gorish, and the Gorishāni or Gurchāni are his descendants. Most legends, however, represent this Gorish as a descendant of Dodā and a branch of the Dodāi tribe. Doda was a King of Sind of the Somra tribe (for this there is probably a historical basis). He was driven out of his country and had to swim across the Indus, and came half frozen to the tents of Sālhe, a Rind, who, to revive him, put him between the blankets with his daughter Mudho. Sālhe afterwards gave Doda his daughter in marriage, and adopted him as a Baloch, although he was a Rājput. It is somewhat remarkable that a real Somra Doda, King of Sindh, lost his kingdom and had to flee across the Indus, and a remarkable story, evidently of folklore origin, is told of his adventures by the chroniclers.<sup>1</sup> It is perhaps allowable to identify the legendary Baloch Doda with this personage.

A few names suggest what is possibly a totemic origin, although I cannot offer any definite opinion on this point. Two sections of the Durkānis bear such names, viz., *Sāh-phādh*, or Blackfeet, and *Gandu-gwālagh*, or small red ants. The Mazāri tribe (meaning Tiger's sons) has perhaps some such origin. It is noticeable that the device on the banner of the Baloches, as mentioned in Firdausi's great poem, the *Shahnāma*, written at the end of the tenth century, was a tiger.

Sometimes the ballads turn on religion, and tales of the saints are told, or legends of the celebrated shrines. The

See Elliott and Dowson's *History of India*, vol i., pp. 221-223, where the whole story is given.

best known of these shrines is that of Sakhi Sarwar, which, though situated in country now occupied by Baloches, is certainly of Indian origin, and goes back to the days, perhaps, of the Buddhists; certainly long before the Baloches had entered the country. The Mujāwirs or custodians of the shrine are Panjābis, not Baloches, and Hindūs as well as Muhammadans still resort to it. The shrine has been often described, and I shall not here give any account of it, as it is not really Baloch. The Baloches, however, venerate it, and have made Sakhi Sarwar into one of their national saints. They connect him with the Holy Prophet 'Ali, and tell a legend to the effect that 'Ali, with his slave, Kambar (*i.e.* "the coloured man"), was once travelling with a caravan of camels laden with gold, when a blind mendicant by the wayside asked him for bread. 'Ali told Kambar to give him bread, but Kambar replied that it was impossible, as the bread was in a bale forming part of a camel's load. Then 'Ali said, "Give him the camel and its load." "But," said Kambar, "it is the leading camel of the string." 'Ali said, "Then give him the whole caravan." At this Kambar was so startled that he fell off his camel's back. 'Ali laughed at him and said, "Oh, Kambar, why do you bury your noble countenance in the dust?" Kambar replied, "In my youth my parents told me that I was the household slave of my lord's horse Duldul, and now, seeing your generosity, I was astounded, fearing lest I, with the other gifts, might be sent wandering in the desert with faqirs." So the beggar received the whole caravan, and his sight was restored, and afterwards he emulated 'Ali's generosity, and became known as "Sakhi Sarwar," the Generous Lord. At one time he was persecuted and had to flee from his enemies along the parched-up country at the foot of the Sulaimān Hills where water is scarce. Whenever he needed water, he drove his staff into the sand, and at those points (such as Choti Bala) fresh water may always still be found by digging in the sandy beds of the torrents. Once while



riding with a party of Baloches along one of the long narrow valleys or *tokhs*, which run parallel to the main range of the mountains between the upheaved strata of sandstone, we passed an abundant spring, a rare thing in those parts; but it was salt and undrinkable. A little way off we came to a flat sheet of sandstone, from a small hole in the centre of which fresh water was trickling; and I was told that this place was known as *Nezagh-Khushta*, or "struck by the spear," for *Sakhi Sarwar*, on coming to this spot and finding that the spring was salt, drove his spear in wrath into the rock, and the fresh water immediately flowed forth. Not many miles from this spot is *Zinda Pir*, or the "Living Saint," so called because there *Sakhi Sarwar*, like *Elijah*, finally disappeared from the earth, without having died. The place is marked by a hot sulphur-spring, and the saint's influence makes this beneficial to rheumatic subjects.

The story of the hawk and the pigeon is of a decidedly Buddhist complexion. 'Ali had just been saying his prayers when a hawk struck down a pigeon in front of him. The pigeon appealed to him for protection, but the hawk said: "Oh, my Lord 'Ali, King of men, I left my young ones starving beyond the seven seas at the top of the deep rooted tree, and I have long been seeking some booty to satisfy their hunger. Do not take my only capture from me." Then the pigeon said: "Oh, my Lord 'Ali, my sad state is this. I left my starving children on the cliffs of Mount *Bambor*, and was pecking a few grains to take to them, when I was seized by this monster, who will slay me, Do not give me to this voracious hawk, for thou art lord of all." Then 'Ali called to *Kambar* for his knife, and plunged it into his thigh, saying to the hawk, "Come, I will give you flesh to eat," and with that he cut a piece from his thigh, equal in size to the pigeon, or even larger! Then the pigeon burst into tears, saying: "He is not a hawk, nor am I a pigeon, we are Angels of God sent to try you, and well have you borne the test."

In various narratives, persons who wish to obtain the favour of the saint, go to the shrine and labour at fetching water for the pilgrims. Bālāch did this when his relations had been exterminated by the Bulethi. (I may mention that at Sakhi Sarwar there is only one well, 200 feet deep, and to supply many thousands of pilgrims with water is no easy task.) After three years the saint appeared to Bālāch in a dream, and told him to get a bow. At night he left his bow unstrung, but in the morning he found it strung, and the saint said: "Now thy bow is strung, go and fight thy enemies"; which he did with great effect.<sup>1</sup> In the same way, when Samri was carried off by Muhabbat Khān of Kilāt, her husband went to the shrine of Jive Lāl at Schwān in Sindh, and fetched water for the pilgrims, until the saint told him what he was to do.<sup>2</sup> This shrine, called Lāl Shāhbāz as well as Jive Lāl, is also much resorted to by Baloches. A description of it is given by Sir Richard Burton in *Sind Revisited*.<sup>3</sup>

A more modern shrine, now much resorted to, is that of Sulaimān Shāh of Taunsa Sharif. This Saint was a Jaāfir, one of the aboriginal tribes of the mountains, which have resisted absorption by both Baloch and Pathan; and a fine white marble domed shrine has been in recent times erected to his memory. This is a strictly Muhammadan shrine of the nineteenth century, and not like the others, a relic of pre-Muhammadan religions. Perhaps the only shrine sacred to a thoroughly Baloch saint is Pir Sohri, situated at Sohri Khushtagh (*i.e.*, Sohri's slaughter) in the country of the Bughti tribe. Sohri was himself a Bughti, and bestowed his only goat on the four companions of Muhammad, who presented themselves to him disguised as beggars. In recompense, he found a miraculous flock of goats in his enclosure, and was also given the power of finding water

<sup>1</sup> *Folk-Lore*, vol. iv., 201.

<sup>2</sup> *Folk-Lore*, iv., 519.

<sup>3</sup> *Sind Revisited*, 1877, ch. xxv.



everywhere by thrusting his staff into the ground. Ultimately his head was cut off by his enemies, but he took it in his hands and pursued them until they made restitution, when he finally died. Offerings of goats are still made at his shrine.<sup>1</sup> In the wildest part of the country of the Bozdar tribe I once came across a small shrine to a local saint. Around the tomb a number of large fossil shells had been placed, which were held sacred. I was in favour with the Bozdars just then, as I had succeeded in settling some old feuds among them, and the Chief of the tribe, who was with me, solemnly presented me with two of these shells, which I still have.

These Bozdars are among the wildest and least sophisticated of all the Baloch tribes. The ordeal by fire still prevails among them, and the Chief once reported a case to me officially, asking for sanction to the proceedings. A man had been accused of theft, and offered to clear himself by the fire-ordeal. A trench was filled with burning charcoal, and he had to walk along it from end to end. He did this, but his feet were burnt; and his accusers said that this proved his guilt; but the Chief and all the head men of the tribe held that this was immaterial, and that the real test was to walk from end to end without climbing out of the trench on either side. As there was no evidence whatever against the man, I concurred.

An allusion to the ordeal by fire will be found in the story of Nainā Bai.<sup>2</sup> The test was somewhat different from that in the Bozdar case. Naina Bai had to clear herself of an accusation of being false to the king, her lover. She, too, had to walk from end to end of a trench filled with live charcoal, but as she really had been false it was necessary to circumvent the ordeal. Her actual lover accordingly disguised himself as a half-witted faqir, and just as she was

<sup>1</sup> See the whole story in Hetū Ram's *Bilūchi Nania* (Dowie's translation, Calcutta, 1885), p. 77.

<sup>2</sup> *Folk-Lore*, iv. 290.

about to enter the fire he threw his arms round her, calling out to the king not to burn such a beautiful woman. Naina Bai acted on the hint given her, and swore that she had never been embraced by any man save the king and this mad beggar. This was literally true, as the beggar was her lover, and apparently the oath was quite satisfactory to the powers which preside over ordeals, for she went through unscathed and was cleared. In neither case does the ordeal seem to have been quite a trustworthy test of guilt or innocence.

Belief in omens, in divination by soothsayers, in the casting of lots, and in witches, is very general. One of the omens which I have most frequently noticed refers to the black and white shrike, or *giyānchh*. If this bird is seen on the left-hand side on starting, the omen is inauspicious, and the party will often turn back and make a fresh start. It is supposed to mean bloodshed, perhaps the death of one of the party. But if hunting or shooting is the object of the expedition it is all right, as blood is what is wanted, and the shrike on the left-hand means good sport. The left is always the unlucky side. A bad omen is always called *chapi*, that is left-hand, or sinister. The soothsayer, or augur, is a well-known institution. Men who have this gift are known as *rammalī*. The augury is generally made by inspecting the blood-vessels on the shoulder-blade of a sheep (*hinjri* or *bardast*) just after it is killed. For drawing lots, dried goat's or sheep's dung is generally used. Every man drawing, marks his own piece with his nails so as to recognise it.

It may be said, as a general statement, that the Muhammadan religion, though nominally followed, has not much effect on the wilder and nomadic Baloches. Sayyids and Mullās are not found everywhere, as among the Afghans; on the contrary, they are hardly known except among the more settled tribes. The oath on the Qur'ān is, however,



regarded with great awe, and is much more binding than among most Muhammadan races.

The aversion of the Baloches to fish is certainly not part of the Muhammadan religion. The fish is generally believed among Musalmāns to be *hatal*, or lawful, without the ceremony of throat-cutting with the words "*bismi 'lālh*" necessary in the case of all other lawful animals. The gills of the fish are believed to be specially provided as an equivalent for the throat-cutting. The Baloch, however, will not eat fish, or touch it with his hands if possible, a fact by which the angler profits greatly. Eggs are avoided also by Baloches, as carrion, for although they contain life they cannot be killed in the legal manner. I do not think, however, that this is universal.

The superstition about the *mamm*, or black bear, is, I believe, peculiar to the Baloches, although of course it is akin to the wer-wolves, tigers, &c., of other countries. It is difficult to get the people to speak about it freely, but I ascertained that the *mamm* frequently takes the form of a beautiful woman at night, and hugs men to death if they are not wary; but by day it is never seen except as a bear.

I have not come across any cases of persons recognised as wizards or witches, although such no doubt exist. In the stories the *dāen*, or witch, is a well-known institution. She is a woman who obtains magical powers by digging up and devouring dead bodies at night.

Sacred trees are occasionally found among the Baloches, as throughout India, and are occasionally hung with rags, bits of the clothes of the passers-by. This custom may possibly be borrowed from the other tribes with whom the Baloches have been in contact.

A universal custom is the erection of cairns (*chedhagh*) to mark the site of any memorable event, a fight, a murder, a banquet, &c. Passers-by often add stones to these cairns. The word *chedhagh*, or *chedag*, as it is pronounced in Mekrān,

is perhaps descended from the Buddhist *Chaitya*, to which it seems to correspond according to etymological rules. Another kind of cairn is known as a *dambul*. This is a cairn of mockery, erected in scorn of some contemptible action, something contrary to the *nāmūd̄h* or Baloch code of honour. I remember once seeing a pile of stones in the Chāchar Pass and asking what it commemorated. After some hesitation and a good deal of laughter I was told it was a *dambul* put up against a certain chief of a neighbouring tribe who had proved faithless, and turned back from an expedition on which he had set out.

Tombs in the hill country are much more elaborate and permanent than houses. The grave is generally covered with a pile of stones arranged in lines, black and white alternately, and these stones are often carried long distances. The chiefs' tombs are masses of masonry, solidly built, and the more wealthy and civilised chiefs erect elaborate monuments. Nawab Sir Imam Bakhsh Khan Mazāri has built a group of domed tombs covered with blue and white Multan tiles, which will compare favourably with anything of the sort I have seen built in modern times in Northern India. The habit is an old one, for the tomb of Ghazi Khan Dodāi at Churatta, of about the year A.D. 1550, is a fine octagonal brick building in the Persian style, with remains of coloured tiles.

I once saw a tomb erected to a dog—at least there was a legend to that effect. This was in the country of the Marris, and the story told me was that of a dog and a wolf, almost identical with the Beddgelert story. This is certainly remarkable, as the Indian version of the story, found in the *Hitopadesa*, contains nothing about a dog and a wolf, but a mungoose and a snake figure in it.

Among the more settled Baloches the position of women is much the same as among other Muhammadan races. The principal men have zenanas, and the women do not appear in public, but this restriction is not strictly observed among



the less wealthy, and among the hill-tribes a good deal of liberty is allowed. One of the customs is for the women to form bands, to which no man is admitted, and to roam about the mountains together. They are never molested, and one of the most honourable characteristics of the Baloches is that they never kill or otherwise molest women or children in their raids. A boy may not be killed until he has been formally declared to be a man by being invested with the Baloch equivalent of the *toga virilis*, that is, the *shalwār* or baggy trousers worn by men. This garment he assumes at the age of about fifteen. He is then a man, and may legitimately be killed.

Any insult to women is gravely resented. I once met with a case among the Lashāris. Two men had a quarrel, and one of them went to the other's hut in his absence, found only his mother there, and insulted her by tearing off her *phashk*, or bodice. Her son thereupon challenged him to fight. A spot was appointed, and each came to the rendezvous with one companion. They were armed with swords and shields, but threw away their shields and carved at each other with their swords as long as they could stand. I heard of the fight, but too late to prevent it, and after a twenty-mile ride through a fiery hot wind I arrived in time to see two corpses and two wounded men being carried into the little frontier fort of Sabzilkot. They had fought on the bare smooth plain, known as *patt*, a little way from the fort, and the ground was saturated with their blood.

In quite recent years a desperate feud between the Leghāri and Gurchāni tribes followed upon an insult in connection with a breach of promise of marriage put upon the Chief of the Gurchānis. This Chief had a blot in his pedigree, owing to his father's mother having been a dancing-girl. His own mother was Baloch, but he was still not quite reinstated as of the true blood, and was very anxious to get a bride of good family. He succeeded at length in getting

betroted to a relation of the Leghāri Chief; but at the last moment the engagement was broken off, and the girl married to a Leghāri living in Bahāwalpur across the Indus. This Leghāri was promptly killed by some Gurchānis and a renegade Leghāri, and although the Chief's complicity could not be proved, there was no moral doubt of it; and it was so generally believed that I found it necessary to recommend Government to deprive him of his powers as a magistrate and judge—a very serious matter with the chief of a tribe. War broke out between the independent sections of the tribes living in the hills, and years passed before the affair had blown over. Even now I should not be surprised to hear of its breaking out afresh. Feuds regarding women are frequent and severe, and are difficult to deal with. Love among the Baloches is, I believe, more spiritual and less gross in its manifestations than among most Oriental races, and the tone of the numerous love-poems is often of a genuinely romantic character. I may allude to the story and poem of Dostēn and Shirēn, of which I have published a translation;<sup>1</sup> the poems of Jām Durrak, some of which also I have translated;<sup>2</sup> Réhān's lament over the death of Salo and Bivaragh's love-song, both translated by the Rev. T. J. Mayer;<sup>3</sup> and others still untranslated which I have in MS.

The little poems called *dastānagh*, of a few lines only, which are sung to a flute accompaniment, are often of this type. The following are a few examples, but I need not say that they lose a great deal in translation:

Wandering maid, I am on thy track,  
 For three years past I am on thy track,  
 I am lame with wandering on thy track,  
 A pain in my breast, I am on thy track.  
 A fool in my heart, I am on thy track,  
 Hopeless in soul, but on thy track.

<sup>1</sup> *Folk-Lore*, vol. viii., p. 79.

<sup>2</sup> *Sketch of North Balochi Language*, 1881.

<sup>3</sup> *Balochi Classics*, pp. 13 and 15.



Friends, give me flowers for my hair  
And take my message to Sherān.  
My golden ring for my finger bring  
And give me flowers for my hair.  
Give me my fine camel-saddle  
And the fine scabbard of my sword.  
Come to the well to draw water  
And take my message to my love,  
"I am thy slave with joined hands."

My ring is on thy finger, do not now go back,  
With thy beautiful hair, do not now go back,  
Thy pledge is on my finger, do not now go back.  
And thou wast never false, do not now go back.

Janari is my soul !  
If she be old, she is my soul,  
If she be far off, she is my soul.  
Thy head is mine, 'tis on my soul,  
Thy head is mine, do not be sad,  
Thy head is mine, I am not sad,  
I am not sad when thou art with me,  
To see thee move, I am not sad,  
To look on thee, I am not sad.

I trusted in thee, false one !  
I made thee my love, false one,  
Give back my pledge, false one !  
May'st thou be blind, false one,  
Mays't thou go lame, false one,  
Maimed of thy hands, false one !  
No fault was mine, false one !

Marriage is an affair of contract; and where girls are bought and sold without any regard to their own consent it is inevitable that most of the love-affairs should be with married women, and that the husband should be regarded as an enemy to be got rid of. This feeling is found in the songs, and sometimes takes a comic form.

Tie up your husband with a rope, and come to your tryst,  
Tie the rope to a log, and come to your tryst,  
Throw the log into the river, and come to your tryst.  
He watches you by day, put on your shoes,  
Girl with the hair, and come to your tryst !

Sāvi's husband must be caught,  
 He must be caught, he must be beaten,  
 He must be sent for a ride in the train,  
 And put into the Sibi gaol.  
 The barber must be sent for,  
 His beard clipped and his hair shorn,  
 And only his skin left him to rub,  
 And then let him get a new wife !

This was no doubt composed when the railway to Sibi was first made and the gaol opened by the British Government. The unfortunate husband is to be entrapped and sent to prison, where he will have his hair cut off. It is a national custom among the Baloches never to cut hair or beard, except to trim the moustache as a sign of orthodoxy. (The Balochi's orthodoxy consists of little else !) It is a great disgrace to have the hair cut ; so much so that in the Dera Ghazi Khan gaol the rule about cutting the hair is suspended in favour of Baloches, as it is in favour of Sikhs in other places.

Another little song, which is invariably greeted with great laughter, has for its burden—

“ Aunt, the child's cap is lost ! ”

Where the lady who wishes to meet her lover is trying to find an excuse for getting out of the house at night, and pretends that she has dropped her boy's cap, and must go out to look for it.

It need hardly be added that elopements are very frequent. The Baloch code of honour is very severe, and demands that the husband should kill his wife and her lover, and this he must do without waiting for proof, if it even comes to his knowledge that her name has ever been mentioned in connection with that of another man, in however casual a way. The consequence is that the woman and her lover always elope as soon as they can, and escape into the territory of another tribe or clan. If the lover belongs to this other clan his cause is espoused by his fellow-clansmen, and even if he does not belong to it, the laws of hospitality



forbid the surrender of refugees. If one of the fugitives is slain in the territory of another clan, a blood-feud may probably be started. There is, however, a remedy in pecuniary compensation, which our administration has utilised and reduced to a system in the management of these wild tribes. The woman is regarded as a piece of property, worth four or five hundred rupees, stolen by one tribe or clan from another, and compensation may be accepted without loss of honour—compensation in kind if possible, but estimated in cash terms. Thus it may be arranged that the fixed sum is to be paid by the injuring to the injured party, but in fact money seldom passes. A suitable bride is given by the defendant's family to a member of the plaintiff's family, and the aggrieved party then gives in a receipt for the sum awarded as compensation. The Qur'añ is brought in, and everyone swears to keep the peace, and the incident is closed. Of course such a result requires long and troublesome negotiations, which are carried on under the supervision of a *jirga*, or assembly of chiefs and leading men, who settle the final terms to be submitted for the British officer's sanction.

Not only cases about women, but murders of other sorts, springing out of old feuds, disputes about boundaries, cattle thefts, rights in water, are similarly dealt with. This system is followed with Baloch tribes whether in our territory or partially independent, and as I had many years' experience in working it, I may be allowed to say that it has proved successful. To the late Sir Robert Sandeman the principal credit of this is due. We used to have a sort of parliament of tribes annually at Fort Munro in the Sulaimans, where the chiefs of the different jurisdictions with the officers in charge would meet to discuss all the cases which had arisen during the year; and when all had been settled, the proceedings would conclude with a general feasting and merrymaking. Scores of sheep would be slain and roasted by long lines of wood fires along the hill sides; and far

through the night the minstrels would sing old songs of war and love round the fire ; and the hill-men would dance in, circles, expanding and contracting with their flowing clothes and springy gait.

These dances of the mountaineers (known as *drīs*) are graceful and dignified, and are accompanied by a kind of chant, a Dom playing the drum sitting in the middle of the circle. Among the camel-men from the plains, the dances (*jhamar*) often take a comic and less dignified form. As the fun grows fast and furious the drummer becomes inspired with a fiendish excitement, and the circle breaks up into a number of groups ; some dance in couples and some singly, but all continue to revolve round the centre. Some sit down on the ground, squatting and hopping like frogs ; some hop round on one foot, and all shout out "*Whash en whash !*" some making strange squeaking and piping noises with their mouths. But the hill-men do not indulge in these antics, but rather despise them.

The Doms belonging to the various tribes are much in evidence on these occasions, and are generally well rewarded by the chiefs. Sometimes other performers appear. I remember an old mountaineer, a Durkānī, who was celebrated for his powers as a mimic. He was known familiarly as "Gurkh," or Wolf, and had a son, a boy whom he called "Tholagh," or Jackal, who was very nearly as clever as his father : these men would personate some well-known characters among the Baloches, each impersonation being greeted with shouts of laughter. They would also imitate English officers, but this it was not easy for us to get a sight of ; they were shy, and perhaps the performances were not always complimentary. But once I witnessed a representation of the great Sandeman, or *Sinneman*, as they called him. He had a big bag of rupees in one hand, and a thick stick in the other, and gave money to some while he whacked others, which gave a popular idea of his method of combining conciliation with punishment.



I have already alluded to the unwillingness to surrender refugees. This is a prominent feature in the tribal system. The *bāut*, or refugee, who flees for safety to the tribe, is sacred and must not be given up. The strength of this feeling is still very strong; the ballads contain many allusions to it. In one of those relating to Mir Chākar and Gohar, Bagar Jatōi calls out to Chākar, "When did a hero ever fail his refugees?" and proceeds to tell the story of Bibari and the lizard. Bibari sat in front of her hut and some boys came by. A lizard dropped out of a dwarf-palm and the boys pursued it, driving it into the house. Bibari stood in front of them, and begged them to spare the lizard, as it was her refugee; but they paid no attention to her and killed it. She went to her husband and said to him, "If you do not go to war on account of this lizard, I am your sister and you my brother," and he proceeded accordingly to take revenge.

Another case often quoted is the behaviour of Chākar to the Lashāri women, already mentioned, and the conduct of Nodhbandagh towards Mir Chākar himself, when he mounted him on his own mare Phul, and allowed him to escape from the other Lashāris. A favourite story bearing on this point is that of Dodā Gorgezh.<sup>1</sup> A certain man who possessed a miraculous herd of cattle took refuge with Dodā, and died bequeathing his wife Sammi and the cattle to Dodā's protection; Dodā sacrificed his life in the cause, and his tomb is shown at Garmāf, where he was killed. Dodā's wanderings in the mountains are vividly described in a poem attributed to his son Bālāch, who ultimately, with all the rest of the family, met his death at the hands of the Bulethiis. One passage in this poem expresses the very spirit of the born mountaineer:

"The mountains are the Baloches' rampart, the cliffs are better than an army; the lofty heights are our comrades, the pathless gorges our dearest

<sup>1</sup> See *Bālāch and the Bulethiis*. *Folk-Lore*, iv., 200.

friends. Our drink is from the flowing springs, our cup the leaf of the *phish*, our bed is the thorny bush, the hard ground our pillow. My white sandals are my steed, my son is the sharp arrow, my son-in-law the pointed dagger, my brethren the broad shield, my father the wide-wounding sword."

The same spirit is expressed in another poem :

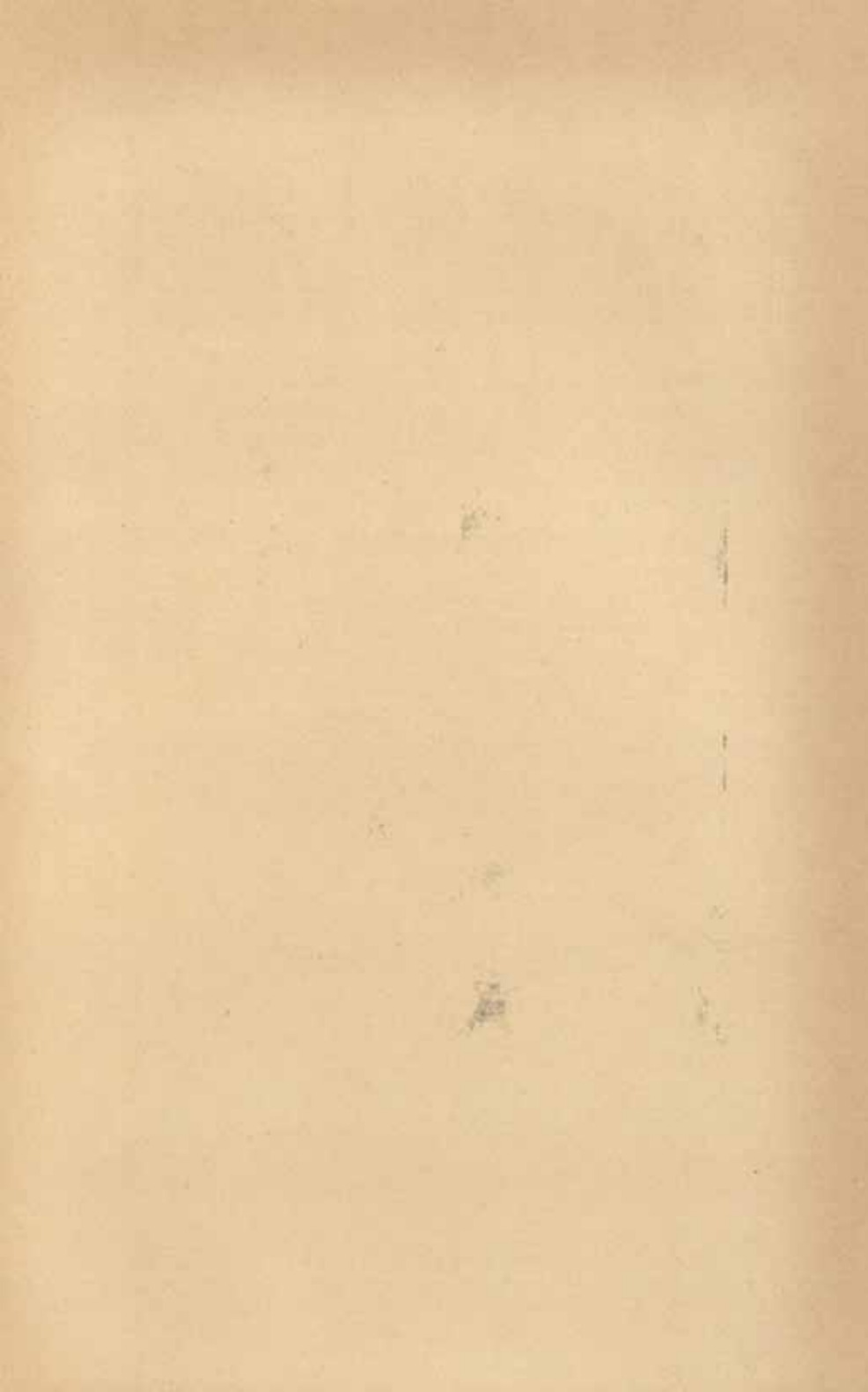
"We will not dwell in the Indus plain ; Phailāwagh will be our pasture. The salt stream of the Chāchar is our friend, it will taste sweet in our children's mouths, for these are the forts which keep the marauding Turk far from us."

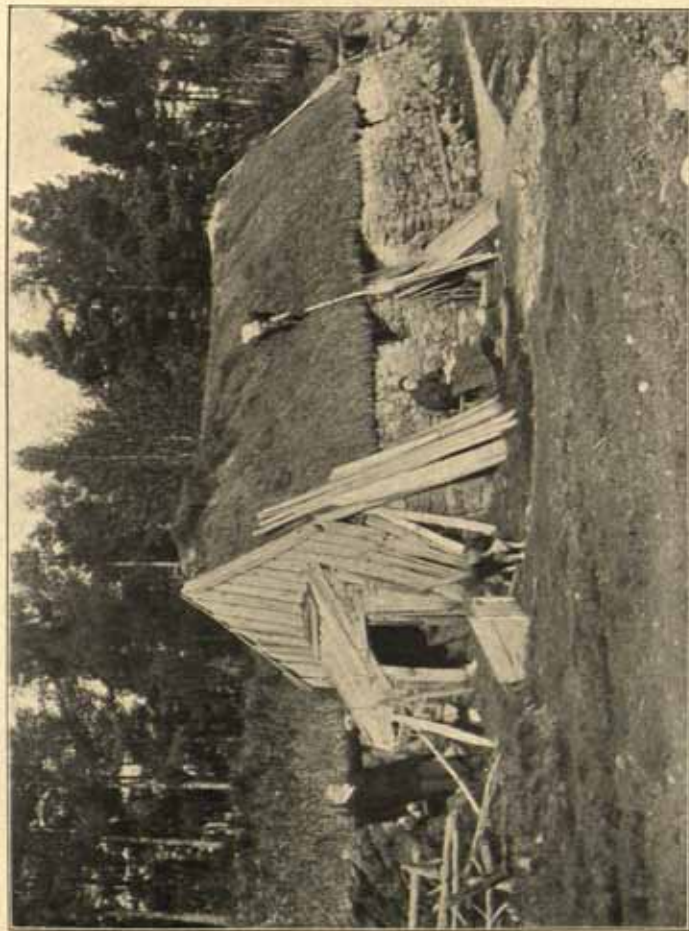
So I am brought back again to the old legends and ballads with which I began, and I cannot do better than close with another quotation which gives the true spirit of all folklore. After relating the history of his tribe, the bard says :

" This is our track and story, this is the home of the true Rinds, a name exalted among tribes. If you do not believe it, no one has seen it with his eyes, there are no ancient documents or witnesses to attest it, but there are tales upon tales ; everyone says that so it was."

M. LONGWORTH DAMES.







COTTAGE WITH "BOGLE" CHARM, NAIRNSHIRE, N.B.



## COLLECTANEA.

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### SCOTTISH CHARM AGAINST WITCHCRAFT.

THE accompanying illustration (Plate III.) represents a very old cottage on the Cawdor property, Nairnshire, which is inhabited by an old dame whose family have occupied it for four generations in succession. Leaning against the thatched roof may be seen an implement called the *Bogle*. It consists of the slim stem of a dead fir; devoid of branches, except at the very top, which is decked out into the semblance of a rude figure, like a scarecrow, with a white cap and an old jacket. The Bogle is set on the ground leaning against the wall and roof, overnight; and it is shifted every evening from the right to the left—*et vice versâ*—of the doorway, in the belief that the house and its inmates will thus be secure from harm by the witch. These particulars were communicated to me through Dr. J. Simpson.

The word *Bogle* is traced by Lye<sup>1</sup> to the Welsh *bugul*, fear, *bwgwlly*, to frighten. Its primary meaning is a spectre, a hobgoblin; and in this sense we find it used by Burns:—

“Ghaist nor *bogle* shalt thou fear;  
Thou’rt to love and heaven sae dear,  
Nocht of ill may come thee near,  
My bonnie dearie.”

Its secondary meaning is a scarecrow, and in this sense the name *potato-bogle* is common throughout Scotland.

FRED. R. COLES.

Soc. Antiq. Scot.,  
National Museum, Edinburgh.

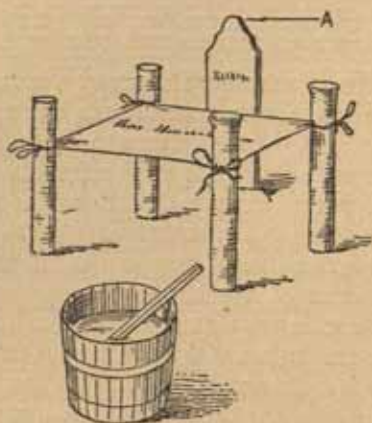
[Jamieson's *Scottish Dictionary* gives both meanings of *bogle*, viz., *hobgoblin* and *scarecrow*. For the history of the word see the *New English Dictionary*, s.v. We have to thank Dr. Sclanders, of Nairn, for a copy of the photograph.—ED.]

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<sup>1</sup> Edward Lye, *Dict.-Saxon.-Goth.-Lat.*, 1772.

## BURIAL CUSTOM IN JAPAN.

On the 31st March last I found, at the roadside between Atami and Odawara, a structure of which the following is a rough diagram :—



It consisted of four bamboos with a sheet of white cotton cloth stretched somewhat loosely between them. The cloth was tied on the posts with cotton tape. The dimensions of the structure were about a foot and a half square by 18 inches to 2 feet high. Beside it stood a common wooden bucket filled with water, and in the water was a dipper. On the cloth is written in Japanese characters, "*Namu amida Butsu*," and on the name tablet (A) is written in Sanskrit the posthumous name (*Kaimyo*) of the deceased.

The above is erected in commemoration of a woman with child who dies before delivery. The place of erection is *usually* over the grave, but it is also placed near running water or by the wayside, in both cases *near* to the grave. If placed by running water the bucket is not necessary. Passers-by pour a dipperful of water over the cloth. I cannot ascertain quite clearly whether they are supposed to benefit the dead woman or themselves by so doing. All I can gather is that "they are considered to have done a good action." The period for which the above is erected is three weeks.

J. C. HARTLAND.

Yokohama, 2nd April, 1902.



Mr. W. G. Aston, whom I have consulted upon this custom, kindly refers me to a quotation by him, in a note to his translation of the *Nihongi* (London, Japan Society, 1896), vol. ii., p. 150, of the description of the practice in Yamada's *Japanese Dictionary*. The practice is called *Nagare-Kanjō* (*Kanjō* meaning baptism, or head-sprinkling), and is thus described: "Four posts are set up near water, on which white cloth is hung. To this are attached leaves of lign-aloes, &c., as offerings for the benefit of the souls of the friendless dead, of drowned persons, or of women who have died in childbirth." Mr. Aston informs me that the expression here given as "women who have died in childbirth" is ambiguous in the original, and may mean "still-born children"; and by an accident he so rendered it in the *Nihongi*. He is satisfied, however, that "women who have died in childbirth" is intended. He also informs me that another Japanese authority states that the four pillars on which the cloth rests are, or represent, *sotoba*, i.e., the commemorative laths or posts, inscribed with Sanskrit characters, which are set up at graves. The practice, he adds, has been described in *Our Neighbourhood*, by T. A. P. (the late Dr. Purcell, of Tokio), a work subsequently republished in London under the title of *A Suburb of Yedo*.

E. S. HARTLAND.

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#### RICE HARVEST IN CEYLON.

(Communicated by Mr. J. G. FRAZER.)

(*Supra*, p. 77.)

On an estate in Ceylon near here, in February, the Tamil coolies (Hindus) drowned the god Madu Sami in the river. For three days he was drowned, and during that time Mooniandi the devil reigned supreme. The men got sticks and beat the women, calling out, "You have the devil in you!" and chasing them all over the estate. Then they fixed on one old woman, beat her, made her carry a large stone on her head, and made her run three times round the coolie-houses. Then they threw stones and chased her to the Mooniandi Sami stone, and there they had incantations; and pushing her to a tree, near the Mooniandi

shrine, nailed her hair to the tree, and then cut it from her head. The woman was free then, and the hair remained there. On the third day they resurrected the Madu Sami doll, and peace reigned as before. This was done after the rice-harvest was over. Mooni-andi Sami is always propitiated by a sacrifice or thank-offering or scapegoat. They say: "Here, devil, is your portion, or sacrifice, now leave us alone, you have had your share."

R. J. DRUMMOND.

Belgravia, Talawakelle,  
23rd March, 1902.

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UNLUCKY AND LUCKY CHILDREN, AND SOME BIRTH  
SUPERSTITIONS.

(*Supra*, pp. 63, 188, 197.)

THE FIRST-BORN.—In the Punjab the first-born son of a wife is peculiarly uncanny, especially subject to magical influences and endowed with supernatural powers. On the one hand his hair is useful in witchcraft, and on the other its possession would give a wizard power over him. He himself possesses considerable magical powers, for he can stop hail by throwing a stone backwards from, or by cutting a hailstone with, a knife; and he can stay a dust storm by standing naked in front of it. He is also peculiarly subject to lightning, and is not allowed to go out on a rainy day. Snakes also become torpid in his presence. (Fuller notes on this or similar ideas would be welcome.)

A first-born child, whether a boy or a girl, should not be married in Jeth<sup>1</sup> (or, one account adds, in Māgh), nor should the mother eat first-fruits in that month, because as she devours them so too will the fates devour her first-born. The position of the first-born is probably due to the fact that, if a son, his father is born again in him, so that the father is supposed to die at his

<sup>1</sup> But according to the *Matha-Khatra Granth*, *śloka* 15, of Bhardwaj Rikhi, it is only necessary to avoid marriage in Jeth, if *both* parties be *Jethas*, i.e., born in Jeth, or if it is not possible to avoid Jeth the ceremony should not be held in the *Ārti* Nakshatra during that month.



birth; and in certain Khatri sections, e.g., the Kochhar,<sup>1</sup> his funeral rites are actually performed in the fifth month of the mother's pregnancy. Probably herein lies an explanation of the *dev-kāj*, or divine nuptials, a ceremony which consists in a formal re-marriage<sup>2</sup> of the parents after the birth of their first son. The wife leaves her husband's house and goes, not to her parents' house, but to the house of a relative, whence she is brought back like a bride. This custom prevails among the Khanna, Kapur, Malhotra, Kakar, and Chopra, the highest sections of the Hindu Khatri.<sup>3</sup>

These ideas are an almost logical outcome of the doctrine of the metempsychosis, and it inevitably results that if the first-born be a girl she is peculiarly ill-omened.

TWINS.—There appear to be no superstitions in the Punjab connected with twins (*dūld* or *jonkri*); but in one part of the Kangra district the child born *after* twins is called *lauhka* or "little."

THE SEQUENCE OF BIRTHS.—There is little to be added to the notes already given (pp. 63, 68), but the following details may be of interest. In Kangra a child of one sex born after *two* of the other sex is called *trelar*,<sup>4</sup> and with that primitive confusion of thought which makes no distinction between that which is holy and that which is accursed, we have the proverb: "*Trelar rele ya sangele*," i.e., "*a trelar either brings evil or good fortune.*"

In the same district a child of one sex born after three of the other is called *cholar*, and is, especially if a boy, propitious. As such he is presumably an object of jealousy to the fates, and his nose is drilled, like a girl, or he is given away to a low-caste man (a Barar or a Chuhra), from whom the child is redeemed by the parents by paying money or grain.

<sup>1</sup> According to one account, a Kochhar wife in the sixth month of her pregnancy pretends to be displeased and goes away from her home. Her husband shaves his head, beard, &c., and goes after her with a few men of his brotherhood. On finding her, he entreats her to return and promises her a present of jewellery, whereupon she consents to come back home.

<sup>2</sup> Should a wife bear twenty children (!), she must also be remarried to her husband. The ceremony of remarriage is precisely the same as that of a first marriage, but it is performed on the roof of the house.

<sup>3</sup> The Mohammedan Gadhiok Sheikhs of Jhelum also retain it. It costs about half as much as a real marriage.

<sup>4</sup> *Trel*=a third ploughing; Jukes, *Western Punjabi Dictionary*. x.v.

The *Pokhú*.—(i.) Of three male children born one after the other, the middle one is said to be lucky. Of three successive female children the middle one is considered unlucky.

(ii.) A boy following and preceding a girl is regarded as inauspicious. A girl following and preceding a boy is believed to be lucky.

An inauspicious child is termed *bhārd-pokhú-wālá*,<sup>1</sup> while an auspicious one is called *halka-pokhú-wālá*. When a woman commences to grind wheat, to spin, or to churn milk she will not allow one of the former to stand by her, because she believes that the presence of such a child will render the work difficult or impossible. She will either send him away or ignore his presence. On the other hand, the presence of one of the latter children is considered a good omen, and women believe that their work will be easily finished, if such a child be sitting by them.

BIRTH SUPERSTITIONS.—There are some curious customs connected with births at particular times or after certain periods. For instance, a child born in the month of Bhādon is lucky (unlike a calf), while one born in Kātik is inauspicious. In the latter case it is considered sinful to keep the mother in the house, and she should be expelled from it, but instead she may be made over, temporarily, to a Brahman and afterwards redeemed from him.

"According to the Shāstras" a wife who has no child for some years is called *sundh*; one who does not bear a child for ten years, *kai budhia*; and after twenty-one or twenty-four years, *sut budhia*. If then she bears a child, a fire of dried cowdung is burnt in front of the house, and the woman is sent away out of the village to live for forty days (a period called the *parsūt*) in a thatched hut, after which Brahmans are fed and she is allowed to return.

A. J. ROSE.

30th June, 1902.

#### AN INDIAN GHOST STORY.

The following account was given to me some years ago by Bābū Akhaya Mohana, a respectable Bengali, at that time

<sup>1</sup> *Pokhū* in Multani = an omen or augury; Jukes, *Western Punjabi Dictionary*, s.v.



employed on the North Western Railway at Sahāranpur, in the North Western Provinces.

Several years ago, his brother, who was then employed as a clerk in the secretariat office at Calcutta, proposed to pay a visit to his wife, then living in the family of his father-in-law, whom he had not seen for some years. He started on his journey to one of the eastern districts of the Presidency of Bengal, and when he arrived within a short distance of the village in which his father-in-law lived, he halted at the shop of a confectioner by the wayside. He entered into conversation with his host, who asked him where he was going. The Bābū told him that he was on his way to visit his father-in-law. On this the confectioner expressed astonishment, and told him that some short time before his father-in-law and the other members of his family had been carried off by cholera, and that it was commonly reported that they still lived in the house in the form of Bhūts, or malignant spirits, because no one was left to perform the necessary funeral rites.

The Bābū, an intelligent man, who spoke and wrote English well, laughed at this story, and continued his journey to the house of his relations. All was quiet when he reached the house; but he entered and found his father-in-law sitting in the reception-room. There was nothing unusual in his appearance, and the only thing he noticed was that the old man answered him in nasal tones. This the Bābū supposed to be merely the result of old age. Soon after the ladies of the family appeared, who washed his feet and entertained him with sweetmeats and sherbet, as Bengali women do when a relative pays them a visit. He was surprised, however, to observe that they too spoke with a nasal twang. But when he remembered what the confectioner had told him, he could not help feeling some anxiety.

When evening came, the ladies told him to go and cook his supper for himself. This again was unusual, as the cooking for a guest is always done by the ladies of the family. He asked the reason, and they told him that they were under a vow of fasting and could eat nothing that day. Of course, as he afterwards saw, their real objection to cook was the dread of fire and the aversion to touch iron cooking utensils, which all Bhūts feel.

So he set about cooking for himself, and as he was boiling the rice and was about to salt it, they shouted to him to desist, as under their fasting vow the use of salt was forbidden in the house.

Then they gave him some fish which he cooked for himself, and when it was ready he laid it in a dish. But no sooner had he laid it down than it disappeared. The fact was that the Bhūts, unseen by him, ate it as soon as it was cooked.

At this his alarm increased, and he began to think how he could manage to escape from this uncanny house. Finally, he determined to appeal to his wife, though he knew that she had become a Bhūt herself. As he entered the room in which she sat she instantly vanished, and soon after he saw her sitting in another corner. He approached her again, and she again disappeared. At last, when he appealed to her for mercy, she said: "My dear husband, as you see, we are all Bhūts, and our bodies are being eaten away inside by worms. But in spirit we are Bhūts, and we intend to kill you to-night." When he asked how they had become Bhūts, she answered: "Our father died, and there was no one to perform his funeral rites; so he became a Bhūt, and he killed us one by one. This he did because he had to serve the Bhūts who were senior to him, and when he killed one of us that one took his place in servitude. And so each one, as he became a Bhūt, killed another of us, till there was none of us left. Then we began to kill our neighbours, until the remnant, finding out who we were, abandoned the village. We cannot follow them now as we are unable to leave our own district, and we have to depend on any stranger like yourself who happens to visit the village."

When he heard the story, the Bābū was beside himself with fear, and implored her to point out some way in which their bondage might be put an end to, and he might save his life. She answered: "Your only chance of safety is to go at once and perform our Srāddha (funeral rites) at Gaya, and then we can go to heaven. But you must marry me again when I am reborn in the family of my father's brother. When we pass out of the state of Bhūts the Pipal (sacred fig) tree which stands in the courtyard of the house will fall down of its own accord. Now take a *lotā* (brass cup) of water and go out. While you hold it in your hand none of us can touch you, and you can make your escape. Good-bye, my former husband."

He took her advice, filled a *lotā* with water and rushed out of the house. The Bhūts called on him to stop, but he paid no heed, and ran until he was well out of their district. He passed



that night at the house of the confectioner, and next morning hastened home. He raised money and went to Gaya, where he performed the Srāddha in due form.

When he revisited his father-in-law's house some time after he found that the Pipal-tree in the courtyard had fallen down. So he took his wife's advice and married the daughter of the brother of his late father-in-law, and since then he has lived in prosperity.

This curious story illustrates the popular beliefs about life after death, and especially about Bhūts. The Bhūt is a malignant spirit, and one common cause why people become Bhūts is that their funeral rites have not been performed. The Homeric parallel is the case of Patroklos (*Iliad*, xxiii., 71); on the contrary, the shade of Elpenor, though his body is unburied, passes into the house of Hades (*Odyssey*, xi., 51-83). "The spirit-voice is a low murmur, chirp, or whisper, as it were the ghost of a voice" (Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, second edition, i., 452 seq.). Indian ghosts speak with a nasal twang (Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folk-Lore*, i., 237 seq.). The fact of the new-coming dead serving those who have preceded them is a common belief in Ireland (Lady Wilde, *Ancient Legends, Mystic Charms, and Superstitions of Ireland*, 82 seq., *Folk-Lore*, iv., 363), in Scotland (Rogers, *Social Life*, iii., 342), and in China (Giles, *Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio*, ii., 365). I have illustrated elsewhere the protective powers of iron, brass, and salt, which are all well-known scarers of ghosts (*Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India*, ii., 11 seq.; 15 seq.; 23). That Bhūts have a well-defined district, outside which they are unable to pass, is a well-known folk-belief. To marry a second wife is dangerous, as she is exposed to the malignant spirit of her predecessor. Here the danger is avoided by the woman being re-born in another family, and then re-married to her former husband. The incident of the Pipal-tree rather looks as if it were one of those cases in which the tree is the "Life Index" of the family. It falls on their release from the form of Bhūts and their entrance into Paradise. Bhūts, however, as Mr. Hartland reminds me, often take up their abode in trees, and Pipal-trees seem to be their favourites; see *Bhūt Nibandh*, by Dalpatrām Dayā, translated by Alex. Kinloch Forbes. Bombay (1849), pp. 8, 19, 45, 47.

W. CROOKE.

## MYTHS CURRENT IN THE SAHARA DESERT.

I picked up the following stories while on an expedition into the Sahara in 1900; most of them from Arabs of my caravan, or from the Touareg nomads whose camp I visited. They are all, I think—with one possible exception—of Touareg, that is to say of Berber, origin. Some of them I afterwards found reproduced in *Le Sahara français*, by Bissuel, published in 1891 by Jourdan, Algiers, from which I have added a few items, distinguishing them in each case from what I gathered at first hand.

"Somewhere in the Touareg country" there is a valley strewn with stones which shine at night. It is infested by deadly snakes which can spring as high as the hump of a camel from the ground. They sleep among the rocks during the daytime, but emerge and attack anyone who enters the valley during the night, which is the only time when these stones can be distinguished from ordinary pebbles. The men who collect these stones enter the valley at night on camel-back and sew fleeces, with the woolly side outwards, all over their camels, and over themselves up to the waist, for protection from the snakes. They carry a hollow reed and a bag of powdered charcoal, and when they see a luminous stone they place one end of the reed over it and pour a handful of charcoal down the tube, so that when they return during the daytime to gather the stones, they may be able to identify them from those which surround them. (From my Arab guide.)

In the Aïr district there is said to be an enchanted oasis (*cf.* the Garden of the Hesperides), some of the trees in which bear precious stones instead of fruit. In its midst is a magnificent palace with walls of porphyry, jasper, and jade. Splendid arabesques cover the walls, lace-like tracery fills the windows, and its golden domes and minarets flash and sparkle in the sun. Fountains play all day in its courts and gem-like singing birds warble continually around it. It is inhabited by women "more beautiful than *houris*," who appear on its roofs and beckon to those who visit the oasis to enter (*cf.* the Sirens). But no human being has yet entered that palace; for whenever any one attempts to cross the threshold the building recedes before him, and continues to do so while he follows it about the oasis; until at length, fascinated by those beautiful women, he wears himself out by following the palace round the oasis and falls exhausted and dies under its walls.



Only one man ever succeeded in escaping from the spot. He was a greedy and avaricious fellow who, when he saw the women beckoning, turned his back upon them and busied himself in filling his *kerratas* (camel-bags) with the precious fruit of the oasis. He then set out for his tent. He marched the whole day, but in the evening found himself back again at the point whence he had started. On the second day the same thing happened again. He then realised that the oasis belonged to the *genii*, and that they were preventing him from carrying away their fruit. He accordingly emptied his *kerratas* and made another attempt to return to his home. But the result was the same as before: in the evening he found himself back again at his starting point. An examination showed that a single date which he had overlooked still remained in one of his *kerratas*, and it was not until he had thrown this out that he was able to return to his tent. (From a Touareg herdsman of the Hoggar tribe, and some Arabs of my caravan; the account of the palace is from my Arab guide. The oasis is mentioned in *Le Sahara français*, p. 153.)

The Touareg women, when they wish to get news of their lovers who are absent on some expedition, put on their best clothes and go and lie down on one of the old tombs in the desert and invoke a spirit called *Idebni*, who appears in the form of a man. If the woman pleases him, he gives her the news she wants; if not, he strangles her. (*Le Sahara français*, p. 153.)

There are some hot springs in Algeria (at Hammam Meskoutine, I think, though there is another legend of this place), which are used by the Arabs as a cure for rheumatism. The Arabs say they are heated by a furnace stoked by some *genii*, whom Solomon condemned to the work on account of some crime they had committed. In order that they should not see, hear, or repeat anything that went on at the baths, he made them deaf and blind, and deprived them of the power of speech. As, owing to these infirmities, the other *genii* have not been able to acquaint them with the fact of the death of Solomon, they still continue the labour imposed upon them, fearing that if they should cease to do so he would punish them still more severely. I am sorry to say I have not kept a note of my authority for this story, which, it will be observed, is not localized in the Sahara.

"Sand-devils," *i.e.* whirls of sand raised by the wind into the air, are said by the Arabs to be caused by a genius amusing himself.

I was told a story by an Arab of a man who made some slighting remarks to his companion about a passing "sand-devil." The Devil immediately wheeled round and came swirling and roaring towards him, knocked him down, tore the *burnous* (cloak) from his back, and carried it up into the air until it was lost to sight.

A curious droning sound known as "the song of the sands" is heard sometimes on a still night in the Sahara. The Arabs say that this sound is the *genii* talking. (From an Arab of my caravan; and from one of a gang of Sha'ambah Arabs under arrest at Toumour for raiding the Touaregs.)

There are two species of fabulous snakes in the desert. The one was described as being about eighty feet long, three feet wide, and having long hair on its head "like a woman." It springs upon travellers from an enormous distance or kills them by breathing fire at them. (Touareg name *ashshel*; Arab name *hanesh*—both words mean simply "snake." I have also heard it called *Tharaben* by an Arab.) The other is smaller, the length of six men. It also has hair on its head, and has besides two horns like a goat. Its cry resembles that of a goat: it is called a *Tanerhouel*. This account, which I had from several Arabs, is confirmed in *Le Sahara français*, p. 154, where it is further said that in the Ahnet mountains of the Sahara there is also a creature called a *Taner'out*. It is globular in shape, and "as large as a camel," and quite black. It moves occasionally from place to place, but generally lives in the caves of the mountains, where it sleeps all day long. It has a great objection to being disturbed, and if aroused by any one entering the cave, squirts boiling water at him from its mouth, which not only kills him but cooks him as well. The *Taner'out* then devours him and immediately falls asleep again. Can this myth refer to some volcanic phenomenon?

Some of the better-class natives of course quite recognise the fabulous nature of these various creatures, but others firmly believe in them. One reason of my journey into the Sahara was to inquire into the existence of the *tharaben*, as I was collecting natural history specimens at the time, and thought that perhaps the "long hair" might be some sort of hood like the cobra's, and that it might be a new species. I was told at Biskra that one had been seen at El Wad (El Oued), but of course when I got there I could hear nothing of it. The horns of the *tanerhouel* may be only an exaggera-



tion of the two "horns," or short spikes, on the head of the Lafaá, or horned *cerastes* viper, a snake which runs to about two feet long.

In the same district there is a class of beings called "the people of the sand" (Touareg *Ahl-et-Trab*, Arab *Kel-es-Souf*). They claim possession of everything below the surface of the soil. They are of a mischievous disposition and drink up the water of the wells when they see a thirsty traveller approaching, and bite off the roots of the plants and so cause them to die and reduce the amount of pasturage for camels. They sometimes take a bodily shape and come above ground, but never show themselves to more than two persons at once. So said one of the Hoggar (Touareg) herdsmen previously mentioned. In Bissuel's *Les Touareg de l'Ouest* (Jourdan, Algiers, 1888), there is (p. 32) a story of two Arab brothers, extremely attached to each other, who were travelling together in the desert. In the evening they halted and killed a sheep for their supper. The spot where they had halted was a sand-dune district with no vegetation. While looking for some fuel to cook the meat, one of them found a Touareg tomb. The Touareg usually mark their graves by placing a slab of wood or stone (called *Shouahed*, or "witness"), upright in the ground, at the head and foot of it, with the name of the deceased upon one of the slabs. The slabs in this case were of wood. Thinking these would make good fuel, the elder brother sent the younger to pull them up. He was unable to do so, for at every wrench which he gave to the slabs a heartrending groan proceeded from the grave. Thoroughly scared, he returned to his brother and told him what had happened. The latter laughed at him for his fears and set out to fetch them himself. He was met when he attempted to do so with the same heartrending sighs and groans. But he was not to be easily daunted. "These slabs are of no use to you," he called out to the deceased Touareg: "I want them to cook my supper, and I mean to have them." He wrenched them out and brought them back to the camp. Finding his brother fast asleep he set to work to cook the dinner so as to be ready for his awakening. Just as the meal was ready and the cook was about to arouse his brother, the form of the dead Touareg emerged from the grave and came and sat down between the two brothers, claiming that as he had supplied the means of cooking the food, he had a right to a share in the supper. The

cook admitted the justice of his claim and began to divide the meat into three portions.

"Why are you cutting that meat into three?" asked the Touareg.

"Because there are three of us—you, I, and my brother."

"No, there are only two. Your brother is dead."

"No, he is only asleep."

"I tell you he is dead."

"He is not, you fool; he is asleep." And they began to quarrel about it.

At last the cook, becoming enraged at the insults heaped upon him by the dead Touareg, snatched up his gun and fired point blank into him. The Touareg with a triumphant laugh sprang to his feet and, closely followed by the Arab, ran to his grave, where he immediately disappeared. The Arab, immensely pleased with himself for having got the better of a ghost, returned to the camp, stooped down and shook his brother to awaken him, but found to his horror that he was quite dead, having been killed by the shot which he had fired at his shadowy guest.

W. J. HARDING KING.

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STRAY NOTES ON OXFORDSHIRE FOLKLORE.

Compiled by PERCY MANNING, M.A., F.S.A.

The following notes, which were in part read at the meeting of March 26, 1902 (see p. 114), are largely based on the collections of my old friend Thomas James Carter, who was born at Baldon-on-the-Green, Oxon., on June 11, 1832. His parents moved in 1836 to St. Clement's, Oxford, where he has lived ever since. In early life he worked for some years in the old St. Clement's brick-fields, now long since built over. Here he began in his spare moments to hunt for fossils, and by degrees he acquired a considerable practical knowledge of the subject. At length he was disabled by rheumatism from hard work, and took to the collection of fossils for his living. For many years he ranged the country round Oxford, going from quarry to brickyard, until he attained a very intimate acquaintance with the geology of the



district; and many geologists, not to mention candidates for "the schools," owe much to Carter's knowledge. Some of the finest specimens of local fossils in the University Museum were collected by him, notably the series of *Trigonia clavellata*, and of *Ammonites catenata*, from the calcareous grit of Marcham, *Cidaris Smithii* from the grit of Headington, *Glyphea Stricklandi* and *Ramphorhynchus*, from the Oxford clay of St. Clement's.

It was as a collector of fossils that I first met Carter, but subsequently on turning my attention to folklore, it struck me that I might avail myself of his rambles over the country. He applied to his search for "old superstitions, stories, proverbs, words, &c."—such was his commission—the same keenness and shrewdness with which he had hunted fossils. In every case he wrote his information down before bringing it to me, and it is a selection from his MSS., copied practically *verbatim*, that forms the main body of these papers. I have added some items collected by myself at first-hand, together with explanatory notes where they seemed necessary. These are distinguished by square brackets, or are given as footnotes. For all else Carter is my authority. The dates give the time when he obtained the several items, and in most cases I have added the names of his informants.

#### I. WITCHCRAFT.

Many years ago there lived in the village of Kirtlington an old woman called "Sarey Bowers," said to be a witch. She was the terror of all the children and young people, and something was sure to happen to any one who incurred her displeasure. She lived in an old hut at the top of the village, called Fox Town's End, which was a noted place for the hounds to meet at. A fox had been started from Town's End many times, but had never been caught, and Sarey was accused of bewitching both hounds and fox; but on the last day of the season the fox was run so close it could scarcely get away. It found shelter, however, in Sarey's hut, and when the hounds were whipped off and the door opened, Sarey was sitting by the fire. They say that Sarey was herself the fox.—(June, 1894.)

About fifty years ago there was an old woman living at Newnham Murren, named Frewin, who was reckoned to be a witch. Many people while walking in the twilight were frightened by seeing a white cat that was said to be the old woman, and it was

a common saying, "Don't stay out late, or you'll see the white cat."—(1898.)

Old Mrs. Joseph Cooper, aged ninety-one, of Barton, near Headington, remembers when she was a child a woman called Miriam Russell, who was a witch, and the terror of the place. She was often seen riding about in a dough-cover [a bin for kneading dough]. She once went to ask for something of a family named Powell, who lived at Stowford Farm, and on being denied said she would remember them. A few days after, the cows and calves all suddenly ran about as if they were going mad, and several calves were found at last on the top of the thatched barn. Old Miriam made it known that this was her work. The Powells then willingly gave her what she wanted, and then the cows were quiet and the calves came down off the barn.

Although Miriam was so formidable, she is said to have been very fond of children.—(August, 1897.)

Some forty years ago there lived at Salford, near Chipping Norton, an old woman named Dolly Henderson, a notable witch. One day she fell out with a woman named Ann Hulver, and bewitched her, so that she was very ill for a long time and could get no cure. At last she went to a cunning man named Manning, who told her that she would meet a woman as she went home, and that she was the person who had caused her illness, but she was not to speak to her, or say anything to anyone about her. But she did; she told some women that worked in the fields what the man said, and so she got worse and worse till she was like a skeleton. About this time a boy was also bewitched by old Dolly, and his brother threw a thorn stick at her, which tore her arm and made it bleed a good deal. The woman and the boy then soon got well, but the old witch died, and the terror of the village was got rid of.—(From Mrs. Jinny Bigerstaff, of Salford, aged 63, who knew the people mentioned.<sup>1</sup>—(9th October, 1897.)

<sup>1</sup> Salford is at the foot of the hill on which the Rollright Stones stand. Mr. A. J. Evans (*F. L.*, vi., 20), mentions the belief current in Long Compton—which is just on the other side of the hill—that the drawing of a witch's blood breaks the spell that she may have cast over her victim. As late as 1875 an inhabitant of that village was convicted of manslaughter for stabbing an old woman with a pitchfork, causing her death. He gave as his motive that she was a witch—one of sixteen witches in the village—and that he was trying to break her spells. Vide an article in the *Birmingham Weekly Post*, on "Manners and Customs of Shakespeare's Greenwood," by Mr. George Morley, quoted in the *Oxford Times*, 22nd July, 1899.



Old Mrs. Snow, aged seventy-six, of Stanton St. John, says that when she was a girl, her father, John Turner, used to tell her of an old woman named Betty Cann, who was a witch, and lived at the top of the village in an old thatched cottage long since pulled down. When she met the villagers she always had something to say to them. She once asked Turner where he was going, and he told her, "To the wood to get some services" [service-berries]. When he got to the wood old Betty was up in the tree, and shouted out, "Hold your hat, here's plenty!" And she filled his hat.

The boys and girls were afraid to go past her cottage for fear of being bewitched. Some of the older boys and men would go and look in at her window, or through the keyhole, and said as a fact that the old woman was dancing half-naked, and her old chairs were dancing too.

In summer time she would meet the farmers and tell them not to carry their hay; if they did so after being told not, something was sure to happen—a horse would go lame, or a waggon would break down. She would also ride on hurdles, and send the cows and other cattle full tear down the village. She would tell the young men and girls where they had been last night, and what time they got home.—(17th February, 1898.)

About sixty years ago there lived at Tetsworth an old gipsy woman called "Mother Buckland," who got her living by begging.<sup>1</sup> She was known as a witch, and it was thought unlucky to refuse her anything, as something bad would happen to those who did. One day she called at a house where a woman called Phœbe Hawes was hanging out a shawl to air on a clothes-line in the sun, and Mother Buckland said she would like the shawl. She was refused, and then she threatened the woman and told her "Look out! You'll know; look out!" From that time the woman was bewitched, becoming like one lost, and this went on till the old gipsy came back some weeks after; then the shawl

<sup>1</sup> [The following obviously imperfect story among Carter's MSS. comes from Buckinghamshire, but as its *locale* is only a mile or so from the border of Oxfordshire it may be added as a note.]—Forty years ago an old gipsy woman called "Old Pretty Maid" was used to beg at Marsh Gibbon. She was a witch, and she bewitched a boy called Holton, who lived in a cottage now pulled down, at the top of the town, so that he became a perfect pest to the town through his mischievous tricks. After she bewitched the boy she could not rest, and she could not make water. Being in much pain she came to the house again where the boy lived, and found him up the chimney. So she took pity on him, and then she soon found relief. The boy got well, and she died.—(10th September, 1897.)

was given to her, and the woman soon recovered.—(From widow Linders, of Tetsworth, 12th September, 1897.)

[A figure of an old gipsy woman telling fortunes, said to represent Mother Buckland, appears in the foreground of a very scarce lithograph drawn and printed by Plowman, of Oxford, in 1839, entitled "Commemoration of the Conservative Fête and Regatta held at Nuneham on the 13th August, 1839 . . . ."]

## II. PREHISTORIC MONUMENTS.

[The *Rollright Stones* and their folklore were the subject of an exhaustive paper by Mr. A. J. Evans, printed in *Folk-Lore* in 1894 (vi., 6-51), but the following items were collected quite independently, and may therefore have some value for purposes of comparison. It will be remembered that the stones consist of a circle, a ruined dolmen called "The Whispering Knights," and a single standing stone called "The King," which are popularly said to be an invading king, five of his knights, and his army, turned into stones by a witch. If they could have topped the hill on which they stand and looked down on Long Compton, which lies just the other side, the king would have become King of England. Mr. Evans (p. 19) quotes the traditional verses which embody this story. In my own copy of Dr. R. Plot's *Natural History of Oxfordshire*, 2nd ed. 1705, are some MS. notes in a contemporary hand, and among them what is probably the earliest recorded version of these rhymes:—

" Said the Danish General,  
If Long Compton I cou'd see  
Then King of England I shou'd be.  
But reply'd the [" British " erased] Saxon General,  
Then rise up Hill & stand fast Stone—  
For King of England thou'lt be none."]

[The stones are said to go down the hill to drink at a spring Evans, *l.c.* p. 24.] It was *formerly* said [writes Carter] that they went down to the brook on New Year's Eve to drink at twelve o'clock. *Now* the saying is, that they go down when they hear the clock at Long Compton strike twelve.

[Though often moved, the stones would always have to be brought back; Evans, *l.c.* p. 27.] The old king that stands by himself on the side of the road was drawn by eight horses to Long



Com. (*i.e.*, Compton), and the people were so miserable, they were obliged to bring him back; but the eight horses could not move him; they tried more, but could not succeed, till they brought a white one, and then he was brought back.

[A variant of this story is as follows]: The stone was taken to Long Compton to form a bridge over a stream; but they could not rest, and were obliged to bring him back; but when they got to where he is, they were so frightened, they ran away, and left him standing.

[The following story does not relate to the "King Stone," but apparently to one of the "Knights"; Evans, *l.c.* p. 27]: They took one large flat stone to Long Com. (*i.e.*, Long Compton), to put over a ditch, and had to bring it back; but no amount of horses could do it, so they left it in the field at the bottom of the hill.

[The following relates to the difficulty of counting the stones in the circle twice alike; Evans, *l.c.* p. 26]: A Charlbury man told me about a baker, who tried to count those stones at Long Com.; he got over the difficulty by placing a loaf on each stone, and then counted the stones, and found seventy-two.

[Bad luck would come to anyone who injured the stones; Evans, *l.c.* p. 23]: A friend of mine, some years ago, broke a piece off one of the stones, and called at Chapel House (near Chipping Norton) to have some beer; he showed the stone, when the landlady begged him to take it back, as there would sure to be something bad happen to him.—(1894.)

[The *Devil's Quoits* at Stanton Harcourt are three large standing stones, which are all that remain of what was probably a circle considerably larger than that at Avebury, and which doubtless gave their name to the neighbouring village (Stanton = A.S. *Stāntūn*, the stone enclosure).<sup>1</sup> Beacon Hill is a very conspicuous landmark, just above Eynsham Bridge, on the Berkshire side of the Thames, about two and a half miles in a straight line from the "Quoits." It is very steeply scarped on three sides, and it has been suggested that it was the British fortress of Egonesham, captured by the Saxons under Cuthwulf in 571.<sup>2</sup>]

<sup>1</sup> J. Y. Akerman, "Ancient Limits of the Forest of Wychwood," *Archæologia*, xxxvii., 430; A. J. Evans, "Rollright Stones and their Folklore," *Folk-Lore*, vi., 10.

<sup>2</sup> J. Parker, *Early History of Oxford* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), p. 81.

The devil was playing quoits on Beacon Hill on a Sunday, and in a rage at being told it was wrong, he threw these three to where they are now.

One of the quoits standing in Walker's Field was once taken away, and put over a ditch called the "Back Ditch" in the "Farm Close" to make a bridge; but it was always slipping, and although often put back, it would not rest, and they were obliged at last to take it back to where it now stands. Wheel marks can still be seen on it.—(From Chas. Batts, labourer, of Stanton Harcourt, aged 35, who had it from his father. January 1, 1898.)

[Mr. Akerman,<sup>1</sup> in 1858, records a rationalised version of the same story, as follows: "There is a tradition in the neighbourhood that the northernmost stone was once removed by an occupier of the land, and laid across a watercourse, where it served as a bridge over which waggons and carts for some time passed, and that it was restored to its old locality at the request of one of the Harcourt family. A groove in this stone, eight inches from the top, seven inches in width, and about three inches deep, is believed to have been caused by the wheels of the vehicles when it lay prostrate."]

[Joseph Goodlake of Stanton Harcourt (now of Yarnton), aged 63, in March, 1901, gave me the following particulars which he had from his father: "When the war was in England, the fighting ended at Stanton by those stones, and from there across to Stanlake Down by Cut Mill. Harcourt was the general; he was Emperor in England; he is buried in the church with his sword and gun and clothes." Further: "When the war was in England the officers used to hide behind them" (the Devil's Quoits) "from the bullets," and the men used to pick the bullets out of them when my informant was young.]

[The legend connecting the Quoits with a battle is confirmed by a story told by Tom Hughes:<sup>2</sup> "An old man in that

<sup>1</sup> Akerman, *l.c.* p. 431.

<sup>2</sup> T. Hughes, *Scouring of the White Horse* (1859), p. 32. There are several monuments to the Harcourt family in the church, the most conspicuous of which are two altar tombs with effigies in full armour; one to Sir Robert Harcourt, K.G., and his wife Margaret, 1471, the other to his grandson, Sir Robert, who was Henry VII's standard-bearer at Bosworth, and died some time after 1501. One of these two is apparently assigned to "the general."

The story of the fighting may well have arisen from the numerous discoveries of British and Anglo-Saxon remains that have been made in the



village" (Stanton Harcourt) "told me that a battle was fought there, which the English were very near losing, when the general rode up to one of his captains, named Harcourt, who was in the thick of it, and called out, 'Stan' to un, Harcourt, stan' to un, Harcourt,' and that Harcourt won the battle, and the village has been called Stanton Harcourt ever since."]

Near Enstone is a ruined cromlech known as the "*Hoar Stone*." The villagers say that "it was put up in memory of a certain general named Hoar, who was slain in the Civil War. It was put there, as that was a piece of land no one owned."<sup>1</sup>

[Near Steeple Barton is another ruined cromlech, also called the "*Hoar Stone*," which is now only a confused heap of small stones, having been broken up by an ignorant farmer. Some fifty years ago it was much more perfect, and two of the side stones were standing about four feet out of the ground. "They used to say that whenever they tried to drag them two pebbles away with horses, they would roll back of their own accord. Them two pebbles growed out of little uns; at least that's my way of thinking."—(From George Nevill, of Yarnton, aged 74, March, 1901.)]

neighbourhood. A *tumulus* close to the "Quoits" was destroyed by the grandfather of the present farmer, and on Stanlake Down many Anglo-Saxon burials have been found.

<sup>1</sup> A letter signed *Zon* in the *Oxford Times* of March 29, 1902, mentions this story, and adds that "there was a battle over there, Lidstone way." Lidstone being a hamlet of Enstone, about one and a half miles to the north-west. Mr. W. Harper in "Observations on Hoar-Stones," printed in *Archæologia* (1832), xxv., 54, speaks of the "War Stone at Enstone. This conspicuous object is said by the country people to have been set up 'at a French wedding.'" There is evidently here a confused version of some legend such as that belonging to the stones at Stanton Drew, Somerset, which were "vulgarly called the Weddings, and they say 'tis a company that assisted at a nuptial ceremony thus petrify'd." Stukeley's *Abury*, quoted by Evans, *Folk-Lore*, vi., 31.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

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### THE MUMMING-PLAY AND OTHER VESTIGES OF FOLK-DRAMA IN THE BRITISH ISLES.

THE Council of the Folk-Lore Society have decided that it is desirable to bring together the scattered material bearing on this subject without further delay, and I have undertaken to edit the collection, which will form one of the issues of the Society. Members who have collected notes and versions are invited to send them either to the Secretary or to me direct, and they may rest assured that their contributions will receive careful attention, and in every case will be suitably acknowledged in the work which is now in active preparation.

Contributors will oblige by taking note of the great importance of locality, action, and dress in these traditions. Of mere versions of the words of the mumming-play we already possess a considerable number; but no version which includes a note of the place where collected, or anything descriptive of the action of the piece, or of the dress of the players, will be either superfluous or valueless. Another point of great importance is the date of collection. The earlier the date the greater the value of the record. If careful inquiry be made by the collector, it may be found that there exists an old MS., or possibly a printed copy, from which the current version has been adapted. Transcripts of both should be obtained, but the old copy is the most important; and a consultation with the most ancient inhabitants of the place may result in valuable descriptive notes.

Lastly, pictorial illustration. Local magazines may contain illustrations, and these will mostly refer to bygone observances of our old dramatic customs, and will be very useful. But for current purposes the camera is a valuable ally. Let the time



chosen for exposure be some point of action or grouping of characters; photographs of detail can be taken afterwards. In the absence of a camera, I have known a quick-sketching pencil, with notes for subsequent completion of the picture or pictures, to achieve an excellent pictorial record.

T. FAIRMAN ORDISH.

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#### THE COLLECTION OF FOLKLORE.

(*Supra*, p. 226.)

I cannot help expressing my surprise at the little attention which is paid to the collection of the folklore of our own country. It appears to be assumed by everybody that there is nothing to collect. Mr. Craigie writes to that effect in his admirable paper on the Danish collector, Kristensen.<sup>1</sup> My experience is entirely opposed to this view. It is not the want of material, but the want of collectors that we have to contend with. It is so much easier, and so much pleasanter, to theorise than to collect! I felt at Castleton last summer that I was merely on the fringe of a great subject, and that with more time and opportunities I might have done much. I believe that ballads, even in a fragmentary form, are rare. Folktales are much commoner, but as a rule very much worn down. That is probably owing to the spread of popular education, and to the diffusion of cheap newspapers. But when you come to the customs and beliefs which form the stock-in-trade, as it were, of the collector, the material is yet abundant. For instance, there is a great variety of Christmas mumming-customs which nobody has ever attended to.<sup>2</sup> I am trying to do something in the way of collecting them myself, but I feel that it is a big undertaking for one man. To do it as it ought to be done, I should have to go into a hundred villages, and write down all that the mummers do and say. But this kind of work, even when imperfect, seems to me to be more useful, and more likely

<sup>1</sup> *Folk-Lore*, ix., 194.

<sup>2</sup> [But see preceding Letter.—ED.]

to advance the cause of science, than printing extracts from county histories and guide-books.

I rather doubt whether anybody can be taught how to collect. Obviously a man must not go round in a carriage and pair, and give himself airs. The collector should not discuss the subject, if he can help it, with an absolute stranger, unless he happens to hear that the stranger is interested in the subject of custom and antiquities. Many people in quite humble life, who live in villages, are interested in these things, especially the old, who love to talk of the things done in their childhood. If a man is determined to get the information, he can overcome all difficulties by perseverance. He must not go about in the expectation that the information will come to him. The collector is in the position of a man who is about to get up evidence in a pedigree case. If in such a matter he expects the plums to fall into his mouth, he will be very much mistaken. His conversation must lead up to the subject on which he desires information, and he should not begin by asking direct questions. You can begin by talking about the weather, and make the conversation lead up to anything you like. But in order to lead the conversation in the right direction, the collector must know what he wants; in other words, he must know what evidence is worthless, and what is valuable. At the same time he should write down everything that is likely to be of the least use.

Perhaps it need hardly be said that the collector should try to get on easy and familiar terms with his informants. He should go in his oldest and plainest suit. If the informant keeps a shop, he should deal with that shop. He should give toys and little presents to the children. He should interest himself in the lives of his informants, talk as they talk, and try to think as they think. That may be rather difficult at first, but the student of folklore should be acquainted with old-fashioned ways of thinking. He should know how to project himself into habits of thought to which he is strange himself. In doing this he need not be a humbug. He need not pretend to believe, but he must show sympathy with his informants, and must not laugh at them. If they see that he is genuinely interested in old beliefs and practices, they will not be slow in the end to tell him what they know.

I always use a small note-book myself and write everything down in pencil. But I do not begin to write until I have obtained leave to do so, and until I have obtained some little acquaintance



with my informant. We must first of all get on terms of easy conversation. It is much better not to press questions, but to pause and wait for answers, as the best things are generally volunteered. A good deal depends on the humour in which the collector happens to be for the time being. If he finds that he is not able to smile, joke, and make himself agreeable, he will not make much progress. The thing must be done easily, naturally, and without importunity.

I think it is impossible to lay down any rule as to what class of people best preserve folklore. The people who preserve it worst are the voluble busybodies who think they have read something and know something. I should say that the people who seldom or never read know most. It is a good thing to employ a maid-servant whom one can trust to make inquiries about beliefs and magical charms, as those are the matters on which people are most reticent. What she reports can then be written down and afterwards verified. I find that people are much more ready to talk to one of their own class, for the educated can never be quite in touch with the uneducated.

In writing a thing down it is best to use the very words and dialect, if possible, of the narrator, and one should try to avoid translating into conventional or literary form.

The whole art consists in perseverance, and setting people at their ease. These are things which cannot be taught. I have sometimes failed in setting people at their ease, because I have been in too great a hurry. In small country villages people are never in a hurry, and the habits of precision and of getting at once to the root of things, which are practised in taking evidence in courts of justice, would be out of place in dealing with such a tender plant as folklore.

I have sometimes made presents of books dealing with folklore to show people that I am in earnest, and that what they are going to tell me is by no means a matter for ridicule, but a subject for serious inquiry. I have got some of my best things in that way. The book reminds people of other things which they cannot think of all at once.

SIDNEY O. ADDY.

My own (purely English) experience of collecting leads me to draw a great distinction between the collection of the different

kinds of folklore. Folktales in England are few, except in the form of anecdotes (generally told as true), in which shape I confess they do not greatly attract me, and I cannot therefore say much about collecting them. But localised legends are plentiful, and quite easy to collect. How came those mounds and stones on yonder moorland? Why is that hill called Hangman? Why does the figure on that monument rest his feet upon a dog? The rustic has little fear or shyness in answering such questions, courteously put, if time be given him to collect his ideas. Unless some dread of pronouncing the names of supernatural beings restrains him, he is rather proud to show his knowledge of local history, as he deems it. With care in introducing the subject, and with a due show of seriousness, you may get even local ghost-stories without much difficulty. Local customs, again, are matters which may naturally come under the observation of new-comers or temporary sojourners; and old inhabitants, *when once you have established friendly relations with them*, like to talk of these things, to describe the ways of their own youth, and to descant with endless variations on the theme that "times were different *then*," to any sympathetic listener. People who from official position or other reasons cannot easily put themselves on really confidential terms with the villagers, may still do a great deal of good work in these departments; but they should be careful to remember that they are not really "behind the scenes," and should not indulge any instinctive disbelief when some one with better opportunity or greater personal gifts discovers veins of "superstition" of which they are ignorant.

For the region of belief is naturally much more difficult to explore than those of custom and legend. People do not understand the inquirer's object; and they are suspicious, reticent, afraid of being laughed at, in proportion, I might almost say, to the sincerity of their secret belief in "such things," even when they affect to despise them. I have, it is true, read a list of omens to a peasant woman, checking those she knew and adding others from her information (I think she imagined that I was nervously superstitious); and there are persons of the peasant class, like Mr. Manning's Oxford fossil-gatherer, who can be employed to collect such matters. But for the most part "superstitions" have to be gleaned gradually, as years roll on and opportunity incidentally brings them to light. Anything savouring of magic or witch-



craft, especially, is not readily revealed to new acquaintance, nor to anyone not thoroughly trusted. The people have not yet forgotten the days when witchcraft was a crime of which the law took cognizance, and they are very careful how they avow any knowledge of the subject. I once upset a most promising apple-cart by asking with too eager interest, "And did you really know — ?" (a certain reputed witch who was the subject of conversation). My interlocutor "dried up" on the spot. She recollected that there was such a person. She had heard that she *did things*; but *she* never had no dealings with her, in fact she didn't know that she had ever spoken to her in her life! And I found it would be waste of time to continue the conversation.

In like manner, when some years ago "a trained scientific observer"<sup>1</sup> travelled into Somersetshire to inquire into the history of the "Witch's Ladder" found in the loft of an old house there, he found that the very men whose unguarded exclamation at the time of its discovery had given the clue to the nature of the implement, would only say that they had never seen the ladder in use, that they did not know to whom it had belonged, that they had never seen another specimen, nor could they explain how they knew what it was. Probably they would have said that there were no witches in the county of Somerset, and that they had never heard of the subject outside the Bible, had the strange gentleman's inquiries been pushed so far!

As to the credibility of witnesses: if they are annoyed by what seems to them impertinent curiosity ("prying into other folks' business"), or puzzled by their visitor's manner and conscious that they do not comprehend his object, or afraid of exposing themselves to ridicule, of offending an influential neighbour, or in any way getting themselves into trouble with the powers that be, English poor people will feign ignorance, and deny knowledge that they really possess. Otherwise, you may trust their word, negative or affirmative, though not always their accuracy. They will exaggerate their own adventures, the favour expressed to them by their superiors, the number of persons in an assemblage, and so on, but they are not imaginative or ingenious enough to hoax an importunate questioner by inventions, as it seems the Scots of the western islands are capable of doing.

<sup>1</sup> F. L. J., I quote the story, of necessity, from memory only.

Lastly, I want to urge the importance of collecting folklore *historically*. Tough as popular tradition is, it yet undergoes modification from age to age. Every item of folklore, as we see it and know it now, has a "life-history" and a past—usually an unrecorded past. Only in European countries, where present-day evidence can be compared with historical records, can this process of modification now and then be studied, and some light thrown thereby upon that unrecorded past. Only in Europe, and not often there, can we learn what external events, what economic changes, what local personalities, have contributed to shape the folklore of the present day; and thence, reasoning by analogy, form some tentative hypothesis of the probable life-history of the folklore of uncivilised races. This to my mind is one of the strongest arguments for pressing forward with the collection of English folklore. The Society's series of *County Folklore* reprints forms a basis for the collector's inquiries. Present-day notes of (*e.g.*) the Plough Stots and Sword-dancers of Egton Bridge would be rendered doubly useful by comparing them with the performance in 1817, as recorded in Young's *History of Whitby* (Gutch's *County Folklore*, p. 232), and endeavouring to trace the reasons of any changes. If the qualifications of the folklore collector and the local historian cannot be united in one person, let two join in collaboration. Especially should attention be paid to the local history of that most important of all historical centuries for our purpose, the seventeenth. I write strongly, because I feel strongly. History is far too much neglected among us. Even Mr. Addy's otherwise exhaustive monograph on the Castleton 29th of May festival, tells nothing that can throw light on popular opinion in Castleton in 1660 or 1662: and the absence of an historical method of treatment of the ritual of Nemi is to me a regrettable flaw in the majestic fabric of the *Golden Bough* itself.

CHARLOTTE S. BURNE.

My experience in the collection of folklore is almost entirely confined to India.

In the first place, I venture to think that it is necessary to distinguish between the quest of folktales and of folklore pure and simple. By the latter I mean popular beliefs and superstitions. Information on such matters comes usually, I think, not from



direct inquiry, but often in a casual, unexpected way. For instance, some reference to a quaint custom or belief will often occur in the course of a trial in court, and any one interested in such things will do well to keep a notebook at hand in which a point may be noted for future inquiry. But most will be learnt in the course of the annual tour in camp which forms an important part of the life of the Indian civil officer. Walking through the fields attended by the village greybeards, you will often come across a rural shrine containing curious fetishes, images, or offerings, about which any one who knows the people and their language and displays a sympathetic interest in their customs and beliefs, can usually without much difficulty obtain information. It is quite different in the grander shrines, like those of Benares or Mathura, for instance, where the officiants have a much higher idea of their purity and importance, look on all Europeans with more or less suspicion, and are decidedly disinclined to say much about their gods or their worship.

I need hardly say that the best chance of learning anything is to chat quietly with the people in their own villages, without the company of native officials, and particularly under circumstances, shooting for instance, where the gulf that lies between the "Sahib" and the native is temporarily bridged over.

It is fatal to success to lean exclusively on the educated native gentleman or on the higher native official. The former is usually puffed up with a belief in his own importance, despises the rustic and his ways, and considers it a sign of refinement to feign ignorance of "superstitions" which his women-folk may believe, but from which he would fain dissociate himself. The class, again, of educated or semi-educated natives, such as those engaged in the lower grades of official work, are as a rule untrustworthy informants on matters of popular belief. They do not perhaps always desire to deceive; but they are generally so obsequious and anxious to gain the favour of a superior that they try to follow his lead, to say "of course" or "without doubt" in answer to any assertion he makes. This pliability of temper is in Northern India most marked among the Bengâlis, and is less common among manlier races such as the Rājput, Jāt, or Sikh.

Inquiries of this kind can seldom be carried on side by side with official work. If the "Sahib" comes into a village to inquire into the assessment of the income tax, for instance, or to fix the

revenue on a piece of alluvial land thrown up by the river, the sight of his note-book puts a sudden check on conversation, and he will observe that any questions he asks are met with coldness or distrust, or will suddenly find himself unable to make himself intelligible in the local dialect.

It is also a great help to know something about the matter beforehand and to bring it out in a casual way. The rustic with the natural suspiciousness of his nature thinks you know a great deal more than you would have him suspect, that if he lies he is very likely to be detected. So he becomes much less shy and reticent. Above all things the searcher after folklore must know the people and their ways; he must speak the village patois well; he must not seem to be too eager for an answer; he must not cross-examine; he must not ostentatiously take notes. He must simply store away in a corner of his mind whatever the people choose to tell him, let the matter rest there, and later on a judicious question will elicit further information. He must seem to have a kindly but not patronising interest in their ways; he must remember that they are not "savages," but people possessing a well-developed form of culture much more ancient than his own; in particular he must never laugh at them, or show that he despises their ways of life and thought.

Collecting folktales is quite another matter. To begin with, the best tellers are women, and in the East women are taboo to the male foreigner. It is impolite to recognise their existence, so much so that it is not etiquette to ask about a visitor's family unless the gentleman of the house be more than a mere acquaintance; even then it is rash to make more than a casual reference to the "house-folk," which include all the female belongings. Hence it is practically impossible for the European officer to approach those who would be best able to assist him. There are very few English ladies who know the women's patois well. The Eurasian lady does of course know it, but she has a hearty contempt for such things as folklore. If we had more ladies as well versed in the native ways and language as Mrs. Steel, no doubt much might be learned from the women, who are the main depositaries of knowledge of this kind.

When I first began to be interested in the collection of folktales I sent for the best professional story-tellers, the *Qissa-khwān*, to use the Hindustani word, who are to be found in every large



town. I have listened to them for hours telling long stories of a type like those of the "Arabian Nights" or the "Bāgh-o-Bahār," about Rājas and Shāhzādis, fairies and demons. But such tales are seldom worth much. They are of too literary a type; many of them, it is true, are good traditional stories, of which most of the incidents are genuine folklore, but these are worked up again and again in a myriad fresh combinations according to the fancy of the narrator.

Next I turned for assistance to a native Christian clerk in my own office, who, of course, knew the vernacular Hindustani, but little or no English. In selecting such aid as this it is essential that the recorder should know no tales in a literary form; if he does he may make up "Cinderellas" and "Ali Babas" by the yard. This man had the excellent quality of being too great a fool and possessed of too little imagination to render it possible for him to do much harm. He got me a number of tales from an old cook-woman who officiated in the Mission Compound. She was by way of being a Christian, but I fancy that her belief was little more than skin deep. At any rate she had not reached the stage of despising "pagan" beliefs and traditions.

After a while I discovered by sheer accident that one of my own orderlies was a mine of stories. This I learned by casually hearing him holding forth to my other servants one night round the camp fire. When I asked him about tales he was quite ready to help, only venturing to express a mild degree of wonder that a "Sahib" should interest himself in such things. But then "you never know what strange thing a Sahib may do." He of course knew Sahibs and their ways, had no nervousness or shyness, and knew that he could come to no harm by telling any tales he knew. He could neither read nor write, so I had to get a native clerk to sit beside us and take down what he said word for word. My orderly seemed to regard this as a sort of semi-legal process, and it was amusing to see how anxious he was to have his "deposition" read over, and how careful he was to see that the record was drawn up correctly.

Later, again, when I came in contact with the wild hill people of Mirzapur, I found the difficulty of communicating directly with these ignorant and timid tribes almost insurmountable. But I was fortunate enough to find a village accountant who knew their particular kind of Hindi, and who having lived for years among

them had gained their confidence and respect. He collected a number of curious Beast Tales, and soon after unearthed a quaint old blind man, Akbar Shāh Mānjhi, who used to support himself by going about to marriage and other feasts and amusing the people by his tales. This old man came readily to my camp, and was quite pleased to stay there indefinitely so long as the camp sutler had an order to provide him with food. He would sit at my tent-door at night and reel off tales *ad libitum*. The difficulty of understanding his curious patois was successfully overcome, and a large number of tales was taken down in the usual way and translated as opportunity occurred.

If I were asked: "What are the essential qualifications for the work of a collector of folklore?" I would say that, to begin with, you must know more than a little of the people and their ways, you must speak the usually crabbed patois with reasonable facility, you must not show over-anxiety in the quest of information, you must not ask too many questions, you must not carry on the inquiry too long, because the rustic easily gets tired, loses the power of attention, and his memory fails if the session be protracted. You must have infinite patience, and the power of listening to a heap of rubbish before you find anything worth recording. It is better to put down, or pretend to put down, all or most of what you are told if the people are found to be communicative, and leave the task of selection to be done at another time.

As to whether the people are intentionally deceiving you or not.—The villager where his immediate interests are involved is a master-liar, and will do his best to mislead you. But this is not so much the case, I am inclined to believe, where his immediate interests are not involved, and when no special eagerness for information tends to make him suspicious. I doubt whether there is any real test to prove whether he is lying or not. People will tell that a rustic always twitches his toes when he is lying. But this is hardly a universal habit. His general demeanour when under examination will usually be significant to one who knows him well, and who is gifted with the not very common power of minute observation. But it is always safe to assume that he will try to mislead you if he thinks he has anything to gain by deceiving you.

One thing is quite certain, there are many facts which no native will disclose even to a countryman, or even to his own tribesman or dearest friend. He lives in a world of reticence



and mystery, and this though under his normal conditions of social life there are no people who have more "solidarity" between members of the same caste and clan. The "bed-rock" idea in the mind of the rustic is that he is surrounded by demoniacal influences against which he knows no mode of protecting himself except by the use of sundry spells and talismans which he must keep to himself if they are to retain any efficacy. Even his own name, and that of his wife or child, he often does not care to disclose, and he usually has a second name in reserve which no one but his *Guru*, or spiritual adviser, quite another person than his officiant Brahman priest, knows. When you reach a higher grade than that of the mere rustic, the tendency to this kind of reticence is still more clearly marked. This is especially the case with the officiant Brahman and the Jogis, Gusāins, Sannyāsīs, and other mendicant friars whom we class under the general and inaccurate name of Fakir. These people possess all sorts of secret beliefs, spells, and mystical observances, to which no European has ever secured the key, and it is hardly likely that, in our time at least, any Englishman ever will do so.

Lastly, I would say that, as far as Northern India is concerned, we have, I believe, as yet only very superficially examined the upper strata of the vast accumulations of folk-belief current among the people. The number of unrecorded tales, songs and ballads, proverbs and popular beliefs current among the rural population is immense, and will provide ample fields for inquiry for many a long year to come.

WILLIAM CROOKE.

As far as I can judge from my own experience, the art of collecting folklore is very much the same, and needs very much the same qualifications, whether the scene be an English county, a West Indian island, or a Malay or Siamese village.

The first requisite of a collector is that he should be in the highest degree sympathetic, and able instinctively to put himself on the right footing with his informant. Not an *inferior* footing: that would be to make himself despised; on the other hand, the smallest assumption of the inferiority of his informant will lead to certain failure. The second requisite is that he should have some knowledge of strategy, sufficient at least for him to know by instinct when to make a "flank," and when a "frontal," attack.

The "savage idea," as Mary Kingsley used to say, has to be stalked, and that warily, if any real success is to be obtained. The third, and the most important requisite, is that the collector should be ready, as Huxley said, "to sit down humbly before his facts."

The country people as a rule afford the best field for enquiries: the townsfolk are too often irredeemably self-conscious, sophisticated, ignorant, and ashamed of their old customs. Two cardinal rules should never be lost sight of; viz., 1st: If you want to get information, begin by giving it; 2nd: Get rid of all your preconceived ideas.

I will try to exemplify what I mean. You happen to be travelling, and find an old hunter among your guides. Talk to him in an easy friendly manner, kindly but not over-familiar, as an English squire might to his gamekeeper. The Malay hunter has his "trade secrets," like any European gamekeeper. Say, for example, you want to get hold of a charm for harking on hunting-dogs. If you ask a Malay hunter for it straight out, he will say he "knows nothing" about it. So begin with general conversation, and lead up gradually to the subject of hunting. Tell him about European wild animals, the reindeer, the red deer, the roebuck; then enquire about the different kinds of Malay deer, what sort of toils or snares are used for each; the different kinds of dogs, which is the best, and how to get the best work out of a dog. Is there no kind of charm, such as is used elsewhere, which will enable a dog to work better? He, as a good Mohammedan, of course says he doesn't know any charms, which are works of Iblis. (Here bring up your heavy guns.) "Oh, but old What's-his-name, the deer-wizard in the next district, told me to say so-and-so" (here you repeat or improvise a few lines), "and people say he is very clever." This puts him on his mettle. "That's not true, Tuan," he says: "people have told you wrong." By this speech of course he gives his case away, and with a little more of the lightest pressure applied judiciously according to circumstances, out comes the very charm you are in want of.

This illustration is intended of course rather as a sample of method than of matter. But most races require at first some such diplomatic pressure as I have described. You never get two absolutely identical versions of any charm from two different wizards. If you do not know any charm to begin with, get a



medicine-man to treat you for headache or something of the sort, and ask him what charm he employs, for your own future benefit. Check your information by going to the next man interested in the subject in hand ; tell him (indirectly or otherwise), what you have heard, and ask him if that is right. By collating the various versions you may be able to discover a key to the meaning of any doubtful words. The evidence required to establish a fact of folklore is the same in kind as the evidence required to establish a fact in a court of law. In some cases the testimony of a single witness may be taken, but in most, corroboration is required, and the less direct the better.

The people in authority in any district are not those to go to for unbiassed information. Expressions of opinion by a chief or a Raja are usually tinged by political or social considerations. A Raja or Sultan will often think it *infra dig.* to admit that he knows anything about magic ; a peasant has no position to lose, and his information will be ten times more trustworthy. Again, the religious authorities are fairly certain to try to conceal from a stranger the existence of any form of magic or superstition *not countenanced by their professed religion*, even though they may practise it themselves continually.

Country people are more truthful than townsfolk, whose evidence is not nearly so worthy of consideration. Ninety per cent. of my best information came from country people. Up-country people in savage lands will not as a rule tell lies, if you only know how to get hold of them and approach them gradually in the way I have tried to indicate above. Undue and undeserved suspicion of their statements will destroy confidence and defeat its own ends by drying up the flow of conversation. I should like, too, to endorse what Mr. Addy says about the importance of being able to laugh and joke with them (not, by the way, *at* them !) to set them at their ease. Again, it must be remembered that if the natives are approached in the wrong way, they will get puzzled, suspicious, frightened, and will take refuge in point-blank denials *to protect themselves*, as they imagine. And a European cannot always tell what mistake he has made. I remember a case in point. I once went up river to a district inhabited by a wild jungle tribe who had been little visited by white men. On going ashore, I visited the chief at his house, and later on began to question him about his tribe, their language, and so on ; and among other things I asked

him what was their name for "wild pig." He gave the Malay word. "Not that," I said: "that is Malay. I want *your* word." He asserted positively that they had no other word, that they always called wild pig by the Malay name (which I knew to be in the last degree unlikely), and I could get nothing more out of him than, "Don't know." A little later on, when going down river again, we met two men of the same village in a "dug-out," and began bargaining with them for a blow-pipe they had. As they were about to leave us after being paid, I said casually, "By the way, what do you call wild pig in your village?" They gave me the word without hesitation, and expressed great surprise at having heard the chief deny its existence. I had probably been too abrupt with the old man, and had made him nervous and suspicious. But anyhow I got that pig's name!

Etiquette forbids any serious subject to be entered upon early in an interview. Often the real object for which it is sought is only disclosed on taking leave, perhaps after an ordeal that has lasted for an hour or more.

Some things, as for instance the words of incantations, are often only disclosed to the initiated. If you want to see a secret ceremony, you must procure a friend at court. In other words, you must make it worth the while of some petty chief or other influential man, to introduce you under his wing as a friend of his own. But in some cases you must be initiated first.

There is hardly any one who, if he would cultivate the necessary "sporting" spirit—would "play cricket," as the saying goes—could not collect *something* in the way of folklore as he goes about the country, say on his holiday excursions. But much better results would be attained, I think, if people would collect more systematically, each devoting himself to one special subject: say for instance, wedding or burial customs, any particular class of legends, local rhymes, or stories—always whatever interests him most. Cover as wide a field as possible, but specialise in a particular subject; thus by degrees you accumulate a real body of valuable information, not an ill-considered mass of scrappy details.

WALTER SKEAT.

From the experience gained in accompanying the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits and New Guinea in 1898, I should say that methods of obtaining information vary



according to the kind of information sought and the people under examination. Usually different methods are necessary in investigations among people with whom you have had previous dealings, and who look upon you as a friend, and people in new villages to whom you are a stranger. In the latter case every effort should be made to pay your first visit in the company of a white man,—by preference a government official or a missionary of the best type,—in whom the villagers have confidence. Under these circumstances a very few minutes will often see you and your hosts on friendlier terms than could be reached by your own unaided efforts in a much longer time.

When seeking information about games, arts, and crafts, etc., among people who know you, I believe the best way is to pay the most approved exponents liberally, saying something to the effect that “different folk do these things differently, and I want to see how your method differs from ours.”

With information bearing on secret beliefs or ceremonies more care is necessary, and usually it is only when the enquirer is well known to his informants that open enquiry is likely to succeed, although even without this, showing a general knowledge of the facts you expect to elicit will often produce useful information. Thus I have found the telling of true or spurious variants of stories or ceremonies under investigation a valuable aid, and this will often be sufficient to start a discussion. If this occurs, and a capable interpreter, who will remember without interrupting, is available, many valuable hints may often be picked up.

In investigating native magic and medicine a medical training is a great advantage. A few doses of some simple laxative or tonic, or a little ointment, distributed about the tribe, will often prove useful, even if the drug produces no very marked effect. A curious feature I noted more than once among Papuans was that it was not necessary for treatment to be successful for the patients to appear pleased and satisfied. Again a little midwifery talk immensely pleases some of the older women, and on one occasion enabled me easily to obtain an account of a female puberty ceremony, the very existence of which had been previously denied.

Natives themselves are usually the best judges of whom to question to elicit particular information, and will often, when friendly terms have been established, volunteer information as to

whom to consult, and even fetch the most likely informants. As a general rule you should begin to talk to the young men first; through them the older men and women can usually be reached. Of course if a "chief" or some one possessing unusual influence can be successfully approached in the first instance, so much the better.

With few exceptions I have not found natives tell lies when judiciously approached; though they may sham ignorance from laziness, fatigue, shame, or desire to keep their own counsel. I believe it is rare for them to affect knowledge which they have not, to please an enquirer, and rarer for them to be led into telling lies by leading questions, though when they are partially civilized they become more prone to these vices. The most satisfactory method of testing the truth of any statement is to examine a number of other witnesses independently, using minor details to test the completeness of your original account. When this is impossible, cross-examining the original witness after the interval of a day or two is often useful.

C. G. SELIGMANN.

I herewith send you a brief account of the manner and difficulties of obtaining folklore in Uganda.

There are two chief difficulties to surmount, arising from opposite parties of the people. First, from the Christian converts. They are ashamed of their old beliefs and practices, and are either ignorant, or affect ignorance when questioned. Information gathered from them is scrappy, and must be obtained from general conversation. Sometimes a subject can be introduced in a circle of friends who take it up and talk freely about it. In such a case it is advisable to allow them to talk, and not to feel that they are being questioned. Secondly, those who still adhere to the old customs are most reticent, because they are looked down upon by their more enlightened brethren, who laugh at and ridicule the old customs. Then, again, many of the ceremonies are sacred and secret.

The language presents another difficulty. So many travellers rely upon their interpreters, who as a rule have only a smattering of English, and guess at their master's meaning. They seldom know more than a few words of other languages than their own, so that they neither know how to express the imperfectly-grasped



question of their master to the native, nor to understand the reply the native makes.

The ordinary Muganda is given to lying, exaggerating, and telling what he thinks will please, when speaking on indifferent topics, but he is reticent about his religious practices.

JOHN ROSCOE.

GARLAND DAY AT CASTLETON: ADDENDA.

(Vol. xii., p. 421, and *supra*, p. 91.)

A lady, who desires that her name shall not be mentioned, has lately told me that instead of the lines:—

“ If thou’d been wed as long as me  
T’ pudding would ha’ been wanted,”

what she heard some years ago was:—

“ If thou’d been wed as long as me  
Thou wouldn’t ha’ been so wanton.”

This second version makes sense, for it will be remembered that the morris-dancers at Castleton were old men. If correct, it tends to prove, as may already have been guessed from analogy, that Garland Day at Castleton was formerly a day of licence.

On the 29th of May, 1902, I sent my clerk Frank G. Jacobs to Castleton to get a photograph of the nosegay called “the queen,” which, it will be remembered, is fixed into the top of the garland. Mr. Jacobs did not succeed in doing this: he was told that “there was not much time,” and that the men who had charge of the nosegay were “afraid of its being knocked about and spoilt.” One of Mr. Potter’s sons told him that they were now going to call the nosegay “the king,” in honour of King Edward VII. But they were not all agreed about changing the name, and there was a dispute about it.

Mr. Jacobs saw the garland hoisted to the top of the church tower. A great number of visitors were present. It is intended to “hold the garland” next year in a more sumptuous way than it has ever been held before.

S. O. ADDY.

## REVIEWS.

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L'ANNÉE SOCIOLOGIQUE, publiée sous la direction de ÉMILE DURKHEIM, Professeur de Sociologie à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Bordeaux. Cinquième Année (1900-1901). Paris: Félix Alcan, 1902.

THE fifth yearly volume of *L'Année Sociologique* is in nowise inferior to its predecessors in variety or interest. The critical accounts of the publications of the year lack nothing of the acumen previously displayed. Every effort is made to render them complete; and they are rapidly causing *L'Année Sociologique* to become indispensable to every student of anthropology, to whatever branch of the subject he may render allegiance.

Of us who are specially interested in the beliefs and institutions of mankind, Professor Durkheim's *Mémoire* on the totemism of the Arunta demands careful consideration. The first volume of *L'Année Sociologique* was signalised by an essay from the same writer on Exogamy, which it will be remembered he traced to the universal prevalence of totemism, and to superstitions in close connection with that institution. His arguments are not yet generally accepted; but the ingenuity of his theory and the erudition and eloquence with which it was expounded must be recognised, and will prepare us to listen with respect to his discussion of the new problems evoked by the remarkable work of Messrs. Spencer and Gillen.

In the *Mémoire* now before us he boldly attacks, not of course the statements of fact made by those discoverers, but certain inferences which they have drawn, and the elaborate theory which Dr. Frazer has built upon the discoveries and the inferences. As members of the Folk-Lore Society know, Dr. Frazer regards the Arunta as representing, more nearly than any other people whose practices have been scientifically investigated, the primitive savage. He finds among them no traces of religion properly so called.



On the other hand, magical practices are strongly developed, and are found in direct connection with totemism. By means of certain ceremonies, called *Intichiuma*, the regular reproduction and multiplication of the totem are assured for the benefit of the entire people, who depend upon it for sustenance and well-being. For although the clansman (if we may for convenience call him so) is only allowed to eat sparingly of his totem, there is no restriction absolutely forbidding him to partake, and at the *Intichiuma* ceremonies he *must* partake, otherwise the supply would fail. Corresponding with the absence of prohibition against using the totem for food, there is an absence of prohibition of marriage within the totem-group. In the traditions of the tribe, moreover, their ancestors are represented as habitually, if not exclusively, both feeding on the totem and marrying within the totem-group. In both these particulars the totemism and traditions of the Arunta are in diametrical opposition to totemism wherever it has been hitherto known to us and in full force. And the question is whether the totemism of the Arunta is anything like a representative of primitive totemism, either in its organisation or its objects. If not, then Dr. Frazer's theories as to the priority of magic to religion, and the object and meaning of totemism, are deprived of the support which they receive, or appear to receive, from Messrs. Spencer and Gillen's discoveries.

M. Durkheim devotes the chief part of his space to discussing the matrimonial peculiarities of the Arunta. As a preliminary to the discussion he challenges the denial of religion to this extraordinary tribe. He contends, (without, however, defining religion), that the Arunta live in a thoroughly religious atmosphere, and that this atmosphere is in origin essentially totemic. The sacred trees and groves, the mysterious caves where the churingas and other objects are piously hidden, are holy places, approached with truly religious awe, places of refuge which impart sanctity to man or beast seeking an asylum there. Totemic legends are attached to these spots; totemic rites are celebrated there. The sacramental communion of the *Intichiuma* is indistinguishable in principle from those of a multitude of religions. The rites of the Arunta are in all points comparable to those found in systems incontestably religious. They must therefore proceed from the same ideas, the same sentiments; and it is arbitrary to deny them the same title.

But the theory of the magical purpose of totemism rests on the

denial of the primitive character of totemic exogamy and food-restriction, and the assertion that the present practice and traditions of the Arunta more nearly represent the original customs. These propositions M. Durkheim proceeds to traverse by elaborate arguments, the bare outline of which is all that can be reproduced here. So far from the civilisation of the Arunta being primitive or archaic, he says, they are among the most advanced of the Australian peoples. They have a sentiment of unity, whatever may be its cause, far more highly developed than is usual on the Australian continent. Every local group has its chief, and the dignity of chief is hereditary. The sacred places are already a sort of temple. Matrimonial relations have passed beyond the coarseness and indefiniteness characteristic of those of many other tribes. All these things are indications of a society which has certainly not been arrested in the first stages of evolution; and it is to be presumed that the institutions of such a society have themselves been transformed as the society has developed, losing some characteristics, and gaining others, so that their actual condition only imperfectly recalls their original nature.

This presumption, he continues, is confirmed by a close consideration of the facts. Taking first the question of exogamy, it is manifest that exogamy as an institution is not unknown to the Arunta, since there actually exist two exogamous divisions, each composed of two sub-classes. M. Durkheim calls the two divisions *phratries*. Similar divisions exist almost all over Australia, and are by English writers usually called *classes*. The origin of these classes has been a subject of discussion ever since the publication of Morgan's *Ancient Society*. M. Durkheim considers them to have been totem-clans. Mr. Howitt, whose authority few will be inclined to dispute, came several years ago to the same conclusion.<sup>1</sup> These divisions, and not the present totemic groups, are in M. Durkheim's opinion, the fundamental institutions of Arunta society. A minute examination of its structure, as well as of the legends, renders it certain that Arunta society has undergone considerable changes, that the exogamous classes or *phratries* are the original divisions, and the present totemic groups are secondary; that none of the present totemic groups is confined to one of the two exogamous classes, but is divided more or less

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vol. xviii., p. 39.



unevenly between them; that at one time it must have been so confined, and marriage within the totemic group or clan was then prohibited; and finally that totemism is now in decay, while the exogamous classes or phratries remain powerful institutions.

How did the revolution come about? M. Durkheim finds its cause in the change of the system of filiation. The Arunta, he contends, have once been like their neighbours in the stage of mother-right; now, the child belongs to the father's phratry—they have adopted father-right. An elaborate argument follows, to show that this was deliberately done, and that it was effected by shifting one of the sub-classes from phratry A to phratry B. The same result would indeed have been obtained if, instead of changing the phratry, it had been decreed that the child should follow the totem of the father. But by the hypothesis the totemic system was then in full force as regards the clan, though it had (perhaps, let me interject, by the complication of the phratry or class into sub-classes for the purpose of avoiding too close inter-marriage) begun to fall into desuetude as regards the phratry. The religious, or quasi-religious, rites and beliefs attaching to the totem, therefore, would not be as easily forsaken. In making the change the line of least resistance would be followed; and that would lie in the direction where religious sentiment had ceased to point. Assuming the argument to be correct, one consequence of the procedure would be to shift part of each totem-clan from one phratry to the other. This would lead to marriage being permitted within the clan, that is to say, within such parts of the clan as remained in the complementary phratry, for each of the phratries continued to be exogamous. M. Durkheim thinks that the further subdivision of the phratry into four classes or more, which is found in some Australian tribes, may have been due to the change from maternal to parental filiation, in order to preserve totemic exogamy. This does not seem quite in accord with the evidence. In New South Wales, where there are two phratries and ten sub-classes, mother-right is still in force.<sup>1</sup> Further inquiries, however, may throw light upon the point. Meanwhile, it is clear that a relaxation of the marriage-rules would inevitably lead to disintegration of the totemic clan.

If it be asked what were the causes of the change of filiation,

<sup>1</sup> Mathew, *Eaglehawk and Crow*, p. 103.

M. Durkheim replies that the custom by which the wife goes to live with her husband produces inconvenience as long as mother-right is retained. In the principal circumstances of life son and father are separated. The father belongs to one phratry, the son to the other. When the people assemble, each phratry assembles by itself, its camp is placed at a distance from the other, and wherever possible a natural barrier, like a stream, is placed between them. Nor is the physical division all. Whenever any question in which the phratries were severally interested came up, father and son would be found to have different interests, whereas at other times they would share a common life with its common burdens and experiences. This situation would be full of difficulty and contradiction. Yet it would not have become wholly intolerable, but for the existence of a more lively sense of solidarity among the Arunta than usually obtains among the Australian tribes. If Arunta society be one in which the sense of unity is strong and growing, it is easy to see that the change of filiation may have been a step deliberately taken for the purpose of promoting unification or at least of removing a hindrance to it.

From matrimonial M. Durkheim turns to alimentary prohibitions. If the foregoing reasoning be accepted, it follows that the present regulations concerning food are a relaxation of earlier restrictions. Just as the relaxation of the restrictions on marriage within the totem-clan would be a necessary, though perhaps gradual, consequence of the change of filiation, and the removal of part of the totem-clan to the complementary exogamous phratry, so the prohibition of the totem as food would gradually fail. It has not quite passed away. Members of the totem-group are expected to eat of the totem, but with moderation, and not to the extent to which they may indulge in other articles of food. It is easier to explain this partial restriction as a survival of a restriction total save for ritual purposes, than to believe that it has been subsequently imposed. I may perhaps reinforce the argument here. If the partial prohibition had not been primary, if the restriction had been subsequently imposed, it is almost inconceivable that there would not have been some tradition to account for it. For it would be unnatural, and would call for explanation. On the other hand, a gradual relaxation of restrictions might attract no notice, it might be insensible. Now, although the ancestors in the Alcheringa are represented as feeding on the



totem, Messrs. Spencer and Gillen have unearthed, so far as we know, no traditions accounting for the present restrictions. What, then, is the meaning of the stories of the ancestors feeding on the totem? Messrs. Spencer and Gillen mention, only to reject it, the theory "that in the traditions dealing with the eating of the totem we have nothing more than another attempt to explain the origin of the totem name." M. Durkheim makes the following most ingenious suggestion. The ritual eating of the totem at the time of the *Intichiuma* ceremonies is really a sacramental communion. Now the traditions we are speaking of are nothing else than this rite, transported by popular imagination into the mythic period when the eponymous ancestors lived, and at the same time amplified by reason of the heroic and quasi-divine character of these ancestors. It was, in effect, inconceivable that such ancestors could have been subjected, as their descendants are, to such an obligation—indeed, one may almost say to such a physical necessity—as a sacramental communion with the totem. Nay, more. As an exceptional nature, a nature which is not that of common men, is attributed to them, it would appear proper that the means they would take to support it would be in accordance with their high religious dignity. Hence, and not because the totem was the exclusive, or even the usual aliment of the totem-clan, the traditions represent the latter as feeding on it. There is force in this reasoning; but with regard to this, and indeed to all the traditions of the *Arunta* and the questions raised thereby, we must suspend final judgment until the publication of the results of the new expedition by the explorers to whom we owe all that we yet know of one of the most enigmatical tribes ever discovered.

The *Intichiuma* rites remain to be considered. M. Durkheim distinguishes the rites themselves from their present interpretation. While admitting that they may have been practised from primitive times substantially as they now are, he submits that the interpretation has changed with the changes above indicated. Now they are practised with a view to assure to the whole tribe a sufficiency of food. But this could not have been a primitive conception. It argues an organisation far above the capacity of primitive man, who could not have had the idea of co-ordinating so many diverse activities for the common good. It is an instance of extended and complex co-operation, which can only become effective when the sentiment of solidarity

is developed. It is in contradiction, too, with all we know of the constitution of genuine totem-clans. Such clans are essentially autonomous societies, each having its own life and *morale*, and attached to similar societies by a very loose bond—a bond which can only become strengthened according as the individual clans tend to merge one in the other, and lose with their autonomy their specific nature, in order to serve as material for a social organisation of another and a higher kind.

The rites then must have originally had some other object. They must have been practised by each clan in its own exclusive interest; and since the use of the totem for food was forbidden to the clan, the practice must have been of a religious and not of an economic nature. No doubt it was intended to perpetuate the species, though not for the purpose of forming an agreed contribution to the alimentary resources of the tribe. The totem is literally the condition of the existence of the clan. In order to have a Kangaroo-clan there must be kangaroos. The men who bear that name must be able to revivify their kangaroo-quality at intervals by sacramental communion. They cannot do so if the kangaroo-species die out. The Intichiuma rites were destined to prevent this misfortune. They were rites analogous to those which, in higher religions, are intended to cherish and continue the life of the god. In course of time, however, the idea changed. The rites were still practised; but they became magical. A nascent ancestor-worship intervened, itself a transformation of totemism. That totemism undergoes transformation into ancestor-worship, let me observe parenthetically, is a development not unknown elsewhere; and the transformation, as I have tried to show, is found to be connected with the change from mother-right to father-right, and the consequent evolution of social organisation.<sup>1</sup> Among the Arunta, too, M. Durkheim argues, the Intichiuma have been developing into a tribal rather than a totemic ceremony. The members of the totem-group, it is true, still take the active part in the ceremonies, but the other tribesmen are admitted as reverent spectators, and they are subjected to ritual prescriptions with regard to the totem, to which they were formerly strange. The clan-religion has in fact become to a great extent tribal. The different cults are on their way to merge in a new system more general and more unified.

<sup>1</sup> *Folk-Lore*, vol. xii., p. 33.



There is no need, therefore, to reform our conception of totemism from top to bottom. Instead, we must submit to look upon the Arunta as in a special stage of civilisation. According to M. Durkheim's phrase, we find among them at one and the same time the preparation of the future and the perpetuation of the most distant past. It is a mistake to see in them belated representatives of humanity at its first appearance ; it would be no less a mistake not to recognise all the relics that subsist among them of the most primitive social forms it has been given us to know. The very complexity of their civilisation constitutes its scientific importance, for it is a rare case and one exceptionally fertile in information and suggestion. A transformation usually wrought only at a much later epoch has, among them, passed over totemic institutions at a moment when they were still strongly organised. By virtue of the reform some of these institutions have been consolidated and have thus become able to maintain themselves more easily and to survive. But they have only survived after changes which give us a glimpse of how totemism is connected with the religious systems which have succeeded it elsewhere.

The length of this analysis of M. Durkheim's luminous *Mémoire* must be excused by the importance of the essay. The *Mémoire* itself should be read in order to appreciate the full force of the argument. If I might venture to express an opinion, it would be on the whole one of concurrence, at least in the main lines of his exposition. But it must be remembered that when the results of Messrs. Spencer and Gillen's new journey are published, all these conclusions may have to be reconsidered.

M. Durkheim has in the last paragraph alluded to the survival of archaic conditions in the midst of the advance in civilisation which he claims for the Arunta. I think that this survival might have been insisted on with advantage to his explanation of some of the peculiarities of their organisation. For example, one of the most archaic features of the Arunta traditions is the want of recognition of the physical relation between father and child. The father is merely the master of the mother and provider of food for her and for her relatives. He is not the cause of the child's existence ; or if a cause, he is a very indirect cause. The persistence of this view of birth (which I had been led some nine or ten years ago to infer as a primitive condition of thought, but hardly hoped to find surviving in any savages of the present day), in

the face of the change of filiation, is certainly very remarkable. It affords one more proof that during a long period of human history, legal descent and relationship have little to do with physical fact. But since it has persisted, it is not difficult to see that it may have aided the break-up of the totem-clan and its transformation into a totem-group of a different character. The change of filiation did not in the first instance affect the totem-clan: it only affected the exogamous classes. As before, the totem continued to be derived through the mother. But the totem-clan was no longer an exogamous body, since one portion of it remained in each of the intermarrying phratries. The effect was to weaken more and more the consciousness of kin within the totem-clan. Autonomy was lost, and, with autonomy, community of interest was in danger of perishing. If the true physical relation between father and child had been apprehended, the totem-clan would simply have passed over to male descent. This is what has happened elsewhere. But the physical relation not being apprehended, the totem-clan could not pass over to male descent. Some other provision was, therefore, required for its continuance. That provision was supplied by a development of the theory of reincarnation. Reincarnation is not an uncommon theory among savages, or for matter of that among civilised peoples, and no doubt it existed among the Arunta prior to the change of filiation. But where the totem-clan is a living institution the deceased member must be born again in his own clan (if at all), and it is because a child is born in a certain clan that he is conjectured to be a returned ancestor. The developed Arunta theory is very nearly the converse of this. A child born of a woman of any totem is conjectured from extrinsic circumstances to be such and such an ancestor returned, and his totem will depend upon that of the ancestor whom he is supposed to be. The result of the developments was that the totem-clan was gradually transformed into a fortuitous group which continued to exist simply for the purpose of performing the religious rites. The blood-bond was finally dissolved; the autonomy was gone. Nothing remained of the community of interest, but such as resulted from the possession of religious, or quasi-religious rites, which the totem-group alone had the power to perform, but which were now performed for the benefit, not of themselves exclusively, but of the entire tribe. I put this forward as no more than an hypothesis illustrating



the suggestion that the archaic features might have been emphasised to explain the peculiarities of the evolution of Arunta society. It seems to me to explain the curious position of the totem-group to which I find great difficulty in applying the term "primitive," even by courtesy.

In conclusion, I may point out that the theory, that in the development of human thought and practice magic preceded religion, does not depend on the primitive character of the Arunta. In Dr. Frazer's hands their practices, regarded as primitive, have indeed lent substantial support to it, but if, as M. Durkheim tries to show, they cannot be regarded as primitive, the theory in question, whether right or wrong, rests on other grounds, independent of Arunta support. It may be argued further that the development of the magical side of religion among the Arunta is an additional and striking example of a process which is always going on, and illustrations of which are to be found in the highest as well as in the lowest religions of the world. On these points, however, I will not here express any opinion.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

[We would direct the attention of readers to the address of Professor Haddon as President of the Anthropological Section of the British Association Meeting at Belfast, 1902.—ED.]

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#### FABULÆ CELTICÆ.

TRACES OF THE ELDER FAITHS OF IRELAND. A Folklore Sketch. A Handbook of Irish Pre-Christian Tradition. By W. G. WOOD-MARTIN, M.R.I.A. With illustrations. Two vols. Longmans.

THE author of this voluminous work seems to share that tendency to agglomeration which has made works dealing with the folklore, history, and traditions of the sister-island so repellent to the ordinary reader, whether Irish or English. He begins at a sufficiently remote period with what he calls "Speculative Geological Archæology," and he devotes some chapters to a semi-imaginative reconstruction of the period of the Mammoth and the Cave-dweller, illustrated

by pictures of imaginary scenes in the life of Neolithic man. From this period he passes on to what he calls the borderland of history and to a discussion of the beliefs of Pagan Ireland. The second volume contains a mass of information on well, animal, tree, and stone worship, and on marriage and fairy lore. This is to a folklorist, the only useful part of the book. It contains a vast accumulation of examples, many of them already well-known, but some few the result of the author's own observation. As a repository of data his work may have a certain value, but he lacks the critical and constructive faculty, and the book is rambling and ill-digested, full of untenable theories and of misunderstandings of evidence. To choose a few points. In speaking of the Druids he remarks :

"The peculiar character of the Druidic organisation precluded the existence of any very abnormal difference in the Druidism of Gaul, Britain, and Erin. Nay, further, if we assume, as Cæsar states, that Druidism had not only its origin but even its chief seat in Britain, we cannot but conclude that at whatever period we may fix on for its first introduction into Ireland there could have been but little difference between it and the Druidism of Gaul. There is, therefore, little in Cæsar that might not be applied to Irish Druidism, as that religion is faintly depicted in alleged early Irish manuscripts. Cæsar styles the priests by the general name of Druids," &c.

Here are a series of assumptions made on the sole authority of a foreigner, a Roman general, who however accurate an observer, could have been only imperfectly informed of the religious beliefs and social practices of the peoples among whom he came as conqueror; and who, moreover, never was in Ireland. As regards Irish Druidism, it would seem that the observations of Cæsar stand in need of modification. The popular idea derived from him of the Druid as a sacrificing priest, cutting the sacred mistletoe in the recesses of the woods and offering holocausts of human sacrifices, is totally unlike any conception that we get of the Irish Druids from the more purely pagan records, or indeed from any Irish records. In Britain the religious functions of the Druid were the prominent feature of his office; in Ireland he is hardly ever, if at all, connected with religious ceremonies. He was soothsayer and diviner of the future, wizard possessed of supernatural powers, but not, so far as we know, priest or sacrificer. This function, if he possessed it, does not definitely appear in the Irish records. The Druid is not mentioned in connection with



the offerings to the great idol Crom Cruach, which demanded human sacrifices, but he is the author of all foretelling dreams, he has power over mists, and winds, and waves, and in the later Christian tales he is the determined foe of Christianity. He is, too, the guardian of the sacred fire, whose rites St. Patrick ruthlessly trampled upon when, within sight of Tara, he lighted the Christian Pascal fire. If, as is possible, the Druid in Ireland assumed in later pre-Christian times the functions of a priest, it was probably added to his original office. Again, as regards the original home of Druidism, it is at least as likely that it passed over to Anglesea from Ireland with the Irish settlers from thence, as that it came the other way. Druidism is connected with the very earliest stratum of Irish folk-tradition, and appears in the most primitive tales. It may have adopted fresh forms in Britain. The mistletoe rites, at all events, were not Irish, as the plant did not grow in Ireland.

"We may infer," says our author, "that Druidism was never thoroughly established in the kingdom [of Ireland]; that the Druids, whom Roman persecution in Gaul and Britain drove over to Ireland, were regarded as magicians, and were taken under the protection of the various petty kings and chiefs. Irish Druidism was in the act of spreading and organising itself, but had not time for universal development before the arrival of St. Patrick."

With this inference we see no grounds whatever for agreeing. There is absolutely no ground for supposing that the Druids were driven to Ireland from Gaul and Britain. On the contrary, they formed part of the oldest system of things we know anything of in Ireland, and held an established position in the remotest pagan times. The author seems to have failed to find Druidism in old Irish legend because he sought for the sacrificial and priestly form of Druidism with which Cæsar had familiarised him, and which was not the form which Druidism, so far as we know, adopted in Ireland. In its Irish form as wizardry its presence is everywhere felt. The functions of law-giver, arbitrator, and instructor of youth, which belonged to the Gaulish bards, seem also to have been performed by the Irish Druid, although there was, as in Gaul, a subdivision of these duties among three or more grades.

To take another point. In speaking of the Irish literary remains, which the author loses no opportunity of decrying, he says:

"If it be granted that the country possessed a literature prior to the arrival of the Christian missionaries, surely the Pagan priesthood were quite capable

of continuing its custody and attending to its accretions; but they were disestablished and disendowed, and the pen was torn from their grasp by the propagators of the new faith. If, on the other hand, literature and writing were only introduced into the kingdom along with Christianity, it must be at once admitted that the monks were the true and only custodians of literature. The admission, however, dissolves the basis on which rest the alleged glories of ancient Erin. Let us bring simple common sense into play, and not acquiesce in statements solely because they appear in Irish MSS. of by no means ancient date—records such as that of the peopling of Ireland before the flood, of the total extinction of this race, who yet left behind them a record of the event, and the thousand and one other absurdities which it is considered unpatriotic not to believe.”

The author seems here to be confusing between the literary material and the means of its preservation, between literature proper, or the body of romance, poetry, and other material which forms the matter to be preserved, and the writing in which it was handed down. Writing on parchment was probably introduced into Ireland with Christianity, though, the date of the first introduction of Christianity being probably much earlier than is usually supposed, this still brings us back to a very early period. We have no direct evidence of its existence in Pagan times, though writing of some sort on sticks, stones, and wooden tablets was certainly used, and the latter was continued as a common form of writing far into Christian times. But the author must surely be aware that the Pagan literature that has come down to us was handed on, like the genealogies and tribal records, by word of mouth, by a specially trained body of reciters, until it was rescued from possible destruction by the monks, who collected and wrote it down in large books, which are thus repositories of a pre-existent literature. The monks did not *create* either the romance or the annalistic records, though they altered and added to them to suit their own conceptions of things. But, fortunately, their alterations in the tales can, in most cases, easily be discerned; the spirit and breath of Paganism abides in them still, and it is the survival of a literature pre-Christian in spirit, though somewhat modified in form, that gives its special value to Irish romance. When Colonel Wood-Martin says that the story of Cuchulainn has been re-modelled on that of Christ, he is carried away by an imaginative exaggeration of a few incidents in the hero's career. Both in outline and in detail, as in spirit, the story is essentially Pagan.



Not only the monks, but the whole nation, were the custodians of their literature, as is shown by the number of copies of all ages that remain of the old romances that have never seen the inside of a monastery. They have been copied and re-copied by the people themselves. With an extraordinary constancy, the national inheritance of the Pagan tales has been handed on by village scribes and hedge schoolmasters. This constancy may have checked original invention, but it has had the good effect of preserving for us at greater length many tales of which only an outline exists in the monastic records. In several instances, the later versions are the fullest.

With regard to the author's remarks on the moribund condition of the Irish tongue, we can only here say that he does not seem to have kept himself *au courant* with the events of to-day. The eagerness with which a whole nation is rising to reclaim its mother-tongue is one of the most extraordinary movements going on about us. Even in and about London there are some twenty weekly classes for the study of the Irish Gaelic language and of Irish songs, each attended by something like forty or fifty persons on an average. All over Ireland classes are being held, voluntarily taught by the native speakers to the younger generation. The establishment of new Gaelic Publishing Societies, the output of books in Irish Gaelic, their considerable sale, the large sums of money collected for these purposes, are unmistakable signs of the same enthusiasm. The leaders are embarrassed and well-nigh overwhelmed by the mass of work entailed by the unexpected development of the movement. Has the author not heard of these things? And if he has heard of them, is it fair to ignore them?

NOTES ON THE TOGAIL BRUIDNE DÁ DERGA. Edited with Translation by DR. WHITLEY STOKES. Libraire Émile Bouillon, Paris.

IN his edition of *Togail Bruidne Dá Derga*, or "The Destruction of the Great House of Dá Derga," Dr. Whitley Stokes has placed before the public another of those famous stories drawn from the romance of ancient Ireland, in which the *motif* of the tragedy is the breaking of the tabus or *geasa* set round the person of a native monarch, Conaire the Great, King of Tara, who reigned, according to the Irish annalists, about the beginning of the Christian era.

The story, which is preserved in eight or more manuscripts ranging from the twelfth to the fifteenth century or later, belongs to that stage of development when the mythical and the historical meet, and we cannot tell where imagination ends and fact begins. It preserves for us, however, certain indications of the ancient Irish belief in tabus and in totemism which deserve attention.

In brief outline the story is as follows. The kingship of Tara was vacant, and guidance in the choice of the succeeding monarch was sought according to the ancient mystical rites. A bull was slain, and a man having partaken of the flesh and broth sank into slumber. Over him was chanted a "spell of truth," after which on his awakening he should announce publicly whom he had seen in his dreams. Whoever he had seen must be accepted as king; but an error was punished by the death of the soothsayer.<sup>1</sup>

On this occasion the dreamer announced that he saw in his sleep at the end of the night a man stark-naked, passing along the road to Tara, with a stone in his sling. The man who answered to this description was Conaire, whose origin is related in the earlier part of the story. Conaire was of semi-divine origin, the grandson of that Etain of the *Sídh* who had wedded the mortal monarch, Eochaid Feidlech. The beautiful description of this immortal goddess, earth-descended, is repeated in this tale from the separate story of the "Wooing of Etain," in which the contest between Eochaid and her invisible spouse, Midir of Brí Léith, for her possession, is recounted. Eochaid had died, leaving but one daughter, called after her mother, Etain, and wedded to Cormac, King of Ulster. She too has only one daughter; and the king, disgusted at the want of a son, gives the babe to two slaves to cast into a pit. But the babe laughs up into their faces just as they are about to destroy her; their hearts relent and the child is saved. They carry her into the sheds where the cows of Eterscéil, King of Tara, are kept, and there she is brought up among the cowherds. Like Deirdre, she is enclosed in a house of wickerwork without window or door, but the king's folk spy her through the skylight and report her beauty to the king, who carries her off and marries her. He was childless, and it had been prophesied to him by his wizards that a woman of unknown race

<sup>1</sup> At Ægira in Achaia the priestess of Earth drank the fresh blood of a bull before she descended into the cave to prophesy. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, I, 134, quoting Pliny H. N., xxviii. 147, editor's note.



should bear him a son. That son was Conaire, whose mortal descent and immortal origin alike fitted him for the position of supreme King of Erin.

Now on the night before Conaire's mother went to Eterscéil, an Immortal in the guise of a bird had visited her, and he had laid upon her the injunction that the boy whom she would bear must never kill birds, because he himself would be of bird descent.<sup>1</sup> This passage, as the editor remarks, indicates the existence in Ireland of totems, and of the rule that the person to whom the totem belongs must not kill the totem-animal. It was the beginning of Conaire's ill-luck that on his way to Tara, when he himself was as yet ignorant of the totem-law under which he was bound, he should have slain birds. As in the story of the "Birth of Cuchulainn," and again of "The Sick-bed of Cuchulainn," great white speckled birds of unusual size and colour and beauty fly before him. He was going northward on his way to Tara from the plain of the Liffey, south of Dublin, when the birds appeared. Unable to strike them with his spear, he pursues them to the sea-side and lets fly at them with his sling. The birds quit their birdskins and turn on him with spears and swords. One of them protects him, and addresses him, saying, "I am Némglan, king of thy father's birds. It hath been forbidden thee to cast at birds, for there is no one here who should not be dear to thee because of his father and mother." "Till to-day," says Conaire, "I knew not this." Then Némglan directs him to go to Tara naked, with the stone and sling in his hand, as the soothsayer was at that very moment seeing in his dream, when he should be chosen King of Tara. On the night of his election solemn tabus are bound upon him. It was he himself who uttered them as he had been taught by the man of the wave. "Thy reign," Némglan had said, "will be subject to a restriction, but the bird-reign will be noble. And this is thy restriction or thy *ges* (*i.e.* tabu). Thou shalt not go right-hand-wise round Tara and left-hand-wise round Bregia (the plain of Meath). The evil beasts of Cerna must not be hunted by thee."<sup>2</sup> And thou

<sup>1</sup> In like manner Cuchulainn, "the Hound" (as his name signifies), was forbidden under any circumstances to taste the flesh of a dog. The endeavour of the two crones to persuade him to do so prefigured his end.

<sup>2</sup> These seem in the sequel to have been beasts set upon his track by the elves.

shalt not go out on every ninth night beyond Tara.<sup>1</sup> Thou shalt not sleep in a house from which firelight or any light whatever is manifest,"<sup>2</sup> &c.

The main portion of the tale, which is full of interesting and archaic detail, need not occupy us at any length. It relates the infringement, one by one, of the tabus which bound the monarch, and his own consequent fall. As in the kindred tragedies in which the same *motif* is at work, Conaire, whose reign had been signalised by abundant prosperity and the love of a contented people, is unconscious of the breaking of his own tabus. He violates them in following the path of duty, and by the machinations of the elves, who had never forgiven the wedding of Etain to a mortal and who took these means to revenge themselves on her descendant. It is the inevitableness of fate that stirs us in these Irish tragedies. The remainder of the story is of more interest to the lover of old literature and to the artist than to the folklorist. It recounts the destruction by fire of the great house, or "Bruiden," in which Conaire had taken shelter after his fight with the pirates off the Hill of Howth. The terrible conflict within the burning house is pictured with a certain rough tragic grandeur that reminds readers of "Burnt Njal" of the parallel in Icelandic story. "And hardly a fugitive escaped to tell the tidings to the champions who had been at the house."

THE MABINOGION. (*Popular Studies*, No. 12.) By IVOR B. JOHN, M.A. D. Nutt. 6d.

MR. JOHN treats only of the four stories which form the true *Mabinogi*, and which in Lady Charlotte Guest's edition are printed with a number of tales belonging to other cycles. The main interest of these four stories lies in their close relationship, both in character and incident, to the romance of Ireland; especially because they belong to a cycle of which, in its mythical stage, very few Irish examples remain, viz., the legends of the Tuatha Dé Danann (called in Welsh literature the Children or Tribe of Dôn). Many of the romances belonging to the Cuchulainn cycle, and many of the miscellaneous romances of Ireland, contain

<sup>1</sup> Probably intended to secure attention to his kingly duties.

<sup>2</sup> Evidently a protective tabu.



allusions to legends of these early tribes or gods, evidently familiar at the time the later stories were penned, but now altogether lost. The fact that it is the remains of this very remote cycle that are found in Wales, and not those of the later and very popular Cuchulainn cycle, is certainly a strong argument for the belief that at a very early period the Gael of Ireland and the Goidel of Wales were one undivided race. For had the intermixture been merely one of settlement in the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries from Ireland, it is not to be doubted that the later cycle would have been the one to establish itself in Welsh Legend, whereas allusions to Cuchulainn in Welsh literature are extremely rare. The Irish began to euhemerise the Tuatha Dé Danann cycle as early as the tenth century. Therefore the Welsh stories, which treat them still in their mythological aspect, must certainly be older. Mr. John does not consider them, as we understand, to be purely Goidelic tales at all, but to belong to a common Celtic mythology, which Goidel and Brython shared in common. He says: "We shall therefore treat the four branches of the Mabinogi as the degraded Brythonic development of early Celtic myth-roots, owing their deeper resemblances to Irish tales to original community of myth, and their more superficial resemblances to late influence from Irish sources," thus trying to combine the opposing theories of Professor Rhys and Dr. Kuno Meyer.

With his argument against the late borrowing of the tales from Ireland we cordially agree. They could not have been so borrowed in their entirety; but we do not see that his explanation throws any fresh light upon, or in any way militates against, the theory of a common Goidelic, as distinct from a Brythonic, origin. For if all the tales spring from one common Celtic origin, why have we not in Ireland a large number of tales resembling the other portions of Welsh romance? Mr. John says: "Are we to suppose that the whole jealous bardic system of Wales existed for the sole purpose of retailing exotic Irish legend?" Certainly not, but that they should retail Goidelic legends in those parts of the country in which Goidelic traditions and races lingered and were reinforced by later immigrations, is as natural as that they should have recited Brythonic tales in the more purely Welsh districts. The tales that we have are, in any case, mere specimens of a body of romance of which much has been lost to us.

CUCHULAINN, THE IRISH ACHILLES. By ALFRED NUTT. (Popular Studies in Mythology, Romance, and Folklore. No. 8.) D. Nutt. 6d.

MR. NUTT's statement of the age of the main body of the Cuchulainn romances is as follows :—

The great bulk of this literature is, as I have said, certainly older than the twelfth century ; but we can carry it back much farther, apart from any considerations based upon the subject-matter. Arguments of a nature purely philological, based upon the language of the text, or critical, based upon the relations of the various MSS. to each other, not only allow, but compel us to date the *redaction* of the principal Cuchulainn stories, substantially in the form under which they have survived, back to the seventh to ninth centuries. Whether or no they are older yet, is a question that cannot be answered without preliminary examination of the subject-matter. In the meantime it is something to know that the Cuchulainn stories were put into permanent literary form at about the same date as Beowulf, some one hundred to two hundred and fifty years before the Scandinavian mythology crystallised into its present form, at least two hundred years before the oldest Charlemagne romances, and probably three hundred years before the earliest draft of the Nibelungenlied. Irish is the most ancient vernacular literature of modern Europe, a fact which of itself commends it to the attention of the student.

Mr. Nutt gives us an admirable summary of the many tales in which his hero's career is unfolded. The parallel drawn between Cuchulainn and Achilles is wonderfully close. There are even some points which might be added, such as the warning to Thetis that if Achilles went to the siege of Troy he would gain immortal glory but meet an early death, while if he remained at home he would live to a good old age. On overhearing a similar prophecy made to his father by a Druid, Cuchulainn at a tender age assumed arms and went forth on his first exploit.

We are not, however, fond of parallels between classic and mediæval mythology. The setting of the classical hero belongs to another stratum of society and another conception of life. What is borne in upon us more than any other fact in considering the early myths of Celtic Britain is their primeval flavour. They are gropings of the untutored human mind in his early conceptions of the world, and in the ruder stages of his existence. The civilisation of the Greek is not only many stages beyond them, as Mr. Nutt points out ; it is in every way opposed to them. The Greek who gave us our modern conception of Achilles, a conception near to his own time and order of society, was probably



unable even to conceive of the original Achilles upon the traditions of whom his work was based, and who belonged to a totally different order of things. He could no more reproduce the original Achilles of his people's myth, than we could re-create to-day such a character as Cuchulainn or Siegfried. The change of feeling is more and deeper than the change of outward life.

ELEANOR HULL.

CUCHULAIN OF MUIRTHEMNE: THE STORY OF THE MEN OF THE RED BRANCH OF ULSTER, ARRANGED AND PUT INTO ENGLISH BY LADY GREGORY. With a Preface by W. B. YEATS. Demy 8vo. xx. 350 pp. Murray. 1902.

LADY GREGORY'S book is intended primarily to put the old Irish romances before the general reader in such a way as may command his attention and win for them his admiration. Those who, like myself, love these romances, cannot but feel the deepest interest in such an attempt, beset as it is with many and great difficulties.

Up to now the English reader who has not had a specialist library at his command has only had Miss Hull's *Cuchullin Saga* to refer to if he wished to form a general idea of the contents and nature of the Ulster or Cuchulainn cycle. Many who wish to know something about the Irish heroic tales will doubtless turn to Lady Gregory's book. They will find a more complete representation of the cycle than is afforded by Miss Hull. Lady Gregory has embodied about a dozen tales which Miss Hull had omitted, though she has omitted four to be found in the latter's work. She has indeed included at least one (the "Togail Bruidne dá Derga," englished as "The High King of Ireland") which does not really belong to the cycle at all, the connection being obviously later and artificial, the product of a time when the Cuchulainn cycle had overshadowed and attracted to itself many originally independent stories.

It may have been necessary to the object Lady Gregory has in view to leave the requirements of the student entirely out of account. But in reviewing the book as I have to do here from the special standpoint of the student, I am bound to point out: (1) the absolute inadequacy of the bibliographical indications; (2) the fictitious air of consistency and uniformity imparted to

the cycle; tales of diverse date, origin, and nature, being thrown into an harmonious chronological sequence, which distorts when it does not disguise their real character. I must further express my regret, and also my surprise, at Lady Gregory's occasional choice of version and incident. The older version, for instance, of Deirdre's fate in the *Children of Usnach* is incomparably grander, sterner, more fraught with tragic passion, than that which she has selected.

It is, however, specially in connection with two characteristics of Lady Gregory's work that the would-be student must be warned against accepting her presentment of the Ulster tales as adequate or exact. In the first place she has (legitimately perhaps, from her point of view), omitted or softened what may be called the barbaric traits of her original, such, for instance, as Deirdre's drinking the blood of her dead lover. Many of these omissions and changes are made in deference to modern delicacy (as is also the case in Miss Hull's book). Personally, I feel that greater occasion is given to the enemy to blaspheme by the suppression than by the frank recognition of the fact that the Irish heroic romances are the outcome of very archaic social conditions. In any case the student loses such valuable detail as the final incident of the Wooing of Emer, proving as it does the existence of the *droit du Seigneur* amongst the early Irish. In some cases the editor's reticence tells against her hero from our point of view; thus Cuchulainn rejects Emer's suggestion that he should court her sister rather than herself, upon the specific ground that he holds none but a virgin worthy of his attention. Lady Gregory omits this. In the second place, the changes which she makes affect our estimate of the mythical element in these stories. In some cases there is room for difference of opinion. Thus there are two versions of Cuchulainn's birth; in one, it is due to his mother's swallowing an insect in water, the insect, as is implied, being the god Lugh transformed; in the other, she is carried off by a supernatural being, and when she is found again by her kinsfolk the birth takes place. Lady Gregory has thrown these two accounts into one, the swallowing incident preceding the abduction. The original versions are so fragmentary and obscure that one cannot say that this interpretation is an impossible one, but it does not strike me as probable. Again, Lady Gregory places the hero's birthplace at "Brugh na Boinne, the



dwelling place of the Sidhe." The original Irish merely states that Dechtire and her companions, transformed into birds, flew away "beyond Sliab Fuad." Miss Hull inserted in her translation the following gloss of her own, which she bracketed: "*i.e.*, towards the fairy dwelling of Brugh on the Boyne;" and this gloss seems to be the origin of Lady Gregory's statement. It is a possible, nay, a legitimate, deduction from the Irish text, but it is not found in that text. My most serious criticism on this score bears upon the final passage of the book. "But the three times fifty queens that loved Cuchulainn saw him appear in his Druid chariot going towards Emain Macha; *and they could hear him singing the music of the Sidhe.*" In the original the words I have italicised run: "and they heard him sing tidings of Doomsday and the coming of Christ." Lady Gregory may here quote from some unpublished MS., but if so, it was of the greatest importance to give her authority. Failing such authority, the version she gives can only be a guess, and should have been put forward as such.

I am conscious of the unfairness of judging a book by a standard which the author never had in view. I can only plead the immense importance of early Irish literature—the oldest and most archaic vernacular literature of modern Europe—for our studies, and the consequent necessity for students to become acquainted with its contents in as accurate and faithful a manner as possible. If Celtic myth and saga were as familiar as Teutonic there would have been no need to deal with Lady Gregory's book in the pages of *Folk-Lore*.

ALFRED NUTT.

DONEGAL FAIRY STORIES: collected and told by Seumas Mac Manus. Isbister & Co.

REGARDED as a fairy-tale book, this is simply delightful. There is something quaint and fresh about the manner of telling, the tales are unhackneyed, and there is an all-pervading humour of the real Irish type; while the pictures are quite as delightful in their way as the stories. What their value for the student may be it is impossible to say, because the compiler gives no authorities; he does not tell us either where he heard the tales, or how faithful he has been in recording them.

HISTOIRE DES CROYANCES, SUPERSTITIONS, MŒURS, USAGES ET COUTUMES (SELON LE PLAN DU DÉCALOGUE). Par FERNAND NICOLAJ. 3 vols. Paris: Retaux.

THIS book is not written for the scientific student of folklore; and to him it will not appeal. Its object is to show that man is, and always has been, one and the same the whole world over in respect to his ultimate spiritual nature; that the essence of this consists in such intuitions as that God is one, that the soul is immortal, and that there are eternal principles of morality corresponding more or less exactly to those delivered from Sinai. Meanwhile, the religious and moral sense of man, it has to be admitted, is capable of "regrettable aberrations" in all directions. These, then, our author undertakes to chronicle, bringing them as best he can under one or other of his ten heads, the influence of the theatre and the novel, for instance, being discussed in connection with the text, "Thou shalt not commit adultery." As aberrations they are for him but so many detached "curiosities," and no laws are invoked to account for their development or distribution. We pass on aimlessly from jotting to jotting. Here is a disquisition on "lynch law," next comes an animated description of a prize-fight "between Jackson and Tom Hyer," now we are on the subject of electrocution—all this under the general heading provided by the sixth commandment. And so it is with the anthropological material that M. Nicolaj has amassed. There is no discernible method, genetic or otherwise, in the ordering of his facts. Nay, not even as bare facts are these of any use to the scientific student. On the one hand, they are very incomplete. There is a whole book on the subject of festivals, and not one allusion to the researches of Dr. Frazer; and there is a long chapter on "La Croyance au Grand Esprit" which knows nothing of the "high gods" of Mr. Lang's later writings. On the other hand, when not borrowed from some other collector, the afore-said facts are at best of obscure and doubtful parentage. Sometimes the reference is omitted altogether, at other times no page is mentioned, and, for the rest, the titles of the books quoted are given in such a mutilated form that woe to him who tries to find them in the catalogue of a library.

R. R. MARETT.



# Folk-Lore.

*TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.*

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FRIDAY, JUNE 20th, 1902.

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. E. W. Brabrook) in the Chair.

THE minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

A paper on the "Folklore of the Kennet Valley" was read by Miss L. Salmon [p. 418], and a discussion followed, in which Miss Jessie Weston, Mr. Bouverie Pusey, Mr. Gomme, Miss Burne, Mr. Higgins, Mr. Lovett, and the President took part.

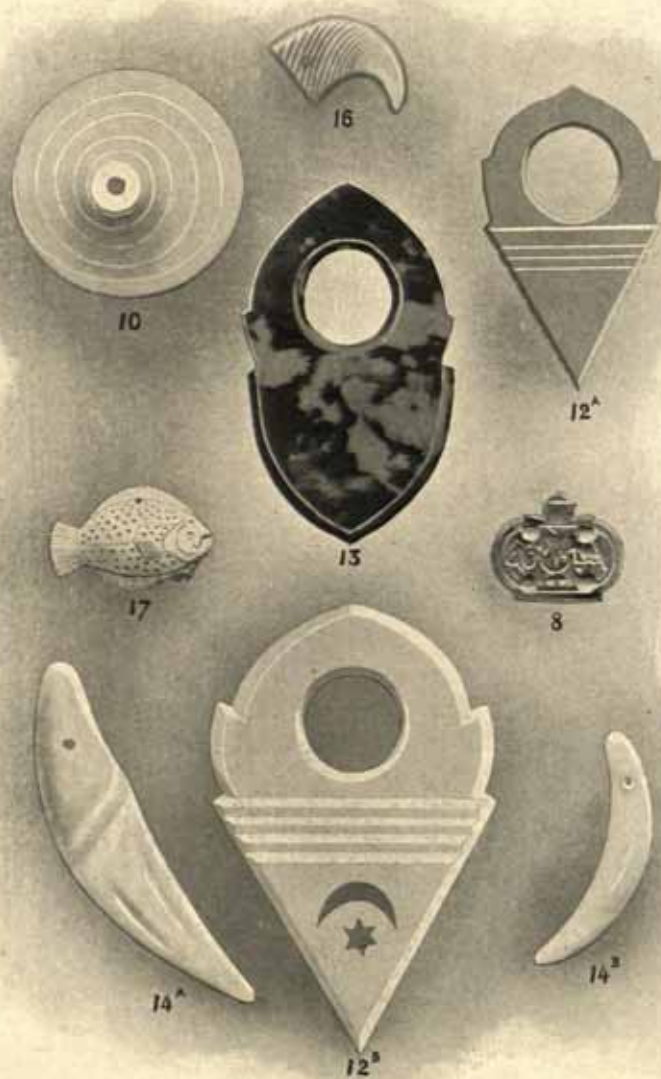
A vote of thanks having been accorded to Miss Salmon for her paper, Mr. Lovett read a paper entitled "The Modern Commercial Aspect of an Ancient Superstition" [p. 340], in illustration of which he exhibited the following objects, some of which are figured in Plate IV.

1. Neck charms of large blue beads, worn by camels. Syria.
2. Crescent charm of boar's tusk, mounted in silver. Tunis.
3. Crescent charm of shell (disc). New Guinea.
4. Stone beads of phallic design. Northern India.
5. Jewish phylactery.
6. Inscribed scroll in silver case, an amulet from the Soudan.
7. A series of Evil Eye charms. Hebron.

8. "Trade" amulets of glass, inscribed with Arabic characters.
9. Cornelian arrow-points, worn as charms by the Arabs.
10. "Trade" charms of glass, made to resemble the apex of a cone shell, the whorl of which is regarded as representing the rotary motion of the sun. This series is of various coloured glass, with variations in celluloid.
11. "Trade" charms of glass, made to resemble cornelian in various forms and patterns, copied from very old Arab types.
12. "Trade" charms of glass made to resemble large arrowheads. This series comprises copies in white glass (chalcedony), brown (cornelian), and others in blue, red, yellow, &c. Lines across the base represent the lashing to the shaft, whilst the flaking is indicated by a row of notches on the cutting edge. More elaborate forms show coloured designs with symbols of the Crescent, and others of the Cross. Others again have views and other pictures upon them.
13. Another series of the above in celluloid, but without designs or decoration of any sort, evidently a degraded type.
14. "Trade" charms of "tigers' teeth," (so called), well modelled;<sup>1</sup> also others in coloured glass, unnatural.
15. "Trade" charm of tigers' teeth in form of crescent, attached to a necklet of cowrie shells, all of glass.
16. Tigers' claws of glass, good copies; others of the same form in various coloured glass.
17. Small fish, made of glass, for Burmah and India.
18. Large "shell" discs of dense white glass for trade in the Pacific.
19. Large bead of imitation amber, for trade with the West Coast of Africa.

<sup>1</sup> Fig. 14<sup>b</sup> represents a wild cat's tooth.





SPECIMENS OF "TRADE" CHARMS.





In the discussion which followed, Mr. Whittaker, Mr. Longworth Dames, Mr. Higgins, Miss Burne, Miss Jessie Weston, and the President took part.

The Meeting terminated with a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Lovett for his paper.

The following books which have been presented to the Society since the last Meeting, were laid on the table, viz. :

*Finnisch-Ugrische Forschungen*, by E. N. Setälä and Kaarle Krohn, presented by the authors; and the *Transactions of the Cymmrodorion Society*, 1900-1, presented by the Society.

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WEDNESDAY, JULY 16th, 1902.

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. E. W. Brabrook) in the Chair.

THIS being a Special Meeting no minutes were read.

The President called on Mr. Lang, who read a paper on the "Origin of Totemism" [p. 347], on which Professor Haddon, Mr. Gomme, Mr. Clodd, Miss Burne, Mr. R. R. Marett, and Mr. H. H. Raynbird offered some observations [p. 393].

The President proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Lang for his paper, which having been unanimously carried, Mr. Lang replied with thanks.

The Meeting then terminated.

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SATURDAY, OCTOBER 25th, 1902.

BY kind permission of the Rector and Fellows of Exeter College, Oxford, a Meeting was held in the Hall of that College on Saturday, October 25th, 1902, Professor Tylor, a Vice-President of the Society occupying the Chair.

Mr. Andrew Lang read a paper entitled "Exogamy and the Australian System" [see p. 398]; and a discussion followed, in which the Chairman, Mr. Hartland, Mr. Gomme, the Rev. G. A. Simcox, and Mr. Snow took part. The Vice-Chancellor of the University, the Rector of Exeter College, and many other Oxford dignitaries were present at the Meeting.

#### THE MODERN COMMERCIAL ASPECT OF AN ANCIENT SUPERSTITION.

By E. LOVETT.

*Read at Meeting of 20th June, 1902.*

A FEW years ago, whilst preparing a paper upon the evolution of coinage and prehistoric trading, I considered that the subject would not be complete without a reference to trade beads. With this end in view I placed myself in communication with some Bohemian manufacturers of these articles, and readily obtained what I required for my purpose. I noticed, however, in going over samples of their glass work, that there were many objects of considerable interest besides beads; and upon further inquiry I learnt that these objects were known as "charms," and that they enjoyed, from a commercial standpoint, the same value and advantages as the beads already referred to.

These specimens were very varied, and in most cases represented objects quite familiar to me. In many instances, however, the colouring was abnormal, and even absurd; but I shall consider this more fully, later on, in describing the specimens upon the table.<sup>1</sup> Meanwhile I

<sup>1</sup> See list of exhibits, *supra*, pp. 337, 338.



will briefly deal with the subject of charms and amulets in general, and then with the very interesting differentiation of form and design which obtains in these objects.

I think we may take it as a fact that the human dread of the unknown is practically universal, though it is naturally far more general amongst primitive races than amongst civilised people. This fear may, for our purpose, be subdivided into dread of the directly mysterious, such as death by lightning; secondly, of death, or injury and disease, from intelligible causes; and lastly, of the power of one person over another by what is known in a general way as the "Evil Eye"; that is, "overlooking," and thus causing mischief of some kind. The natural result of such a state of terror prompted the seeking of an antidote, and such antidotes are to be seen in the varied forms of charms and amulets to be found in every country of the world.

These charms are as diversified indeed as the superstitions themselves, or even more so, but for the purpose of the present paper they may be roughly classified under three heads, all of which may be regarded as prophylactic.

Firstly, we find a group of charms and amulets representing either in a concrete or abstract form the deity, fetish, unknown power, or origin of life; secondly, objects of a sympathetic form; and thirdly, objects which from their abnormal appearance are regarded as of mystic origin, and in consequence regarded as possessing the power of warding off the Evil Eye, protecting their owner from lightning, and such like.

The charms under the first head take the form of the solar disc (sometimes the svastika, as representing the rotary motion of the sun), the lunar crescent, and the large variety of well-known phallic symbols.

Of the second type there are very numerous forms, of which we may mention for our purpose the following. Thunderbolts, as a safeguard from lightning. The subsilicate cornelian, regarded by the Arabs as a preventive of

injury to the flesh. (In Northern India, the garnet enjoys the same repute, and the turquoise, I believe, in Persia: see exhibit No. 1). In like manner, too, the teeth and claws of certain predatory animals are worn as charms against the animals themselves. I have ascertained that men engaged in menageries and wild-beast-shows wear upon their watch chains teeth and tusks of dangerous animals as a "danger charm," which brings this belief down very close to our own doors.<sup>1</sup>

Of the third group, I may mention such abnormal objects as arrowheads, polished celts, &c., certain fossils, such as ammonites, belemnites, &c., stones perforated (probably fossil sponges), nodules of iron pyrites, and many others, all of which, being unintelligible to the primitive mind, are usually regarded with superstitious awe, and worn as luck charms, or as a defence against the power of the Evil Eye.<sup>2</sup> Charms of this latter group are usually worn in such a position as to be readily seen; they act, or are supposed to act, as a sort of lightning conductor, so that the first glance of the Evil Eye, which I believe is the dangerous one, is received by the charm instead of by the individual wearing it. On the other hand, amulets, which usually take the form of some extract, however small, from the holy books of the wearer, are invariably hidden from sight, as in the case of the phylacteries of the Jews and the scrolls in silver cases worn by the warriors of the Soudan. Every Neapolitan carries a charm (in some cases several), but they are likewise hidden away, and not even referred to or

<sup>1</sup> A marine-store dealer, who looked out for curious things for me, has some teeth roughly mounted as pendants. He told me that they were purchased by wild-beast-showmen, who wore them for luck and to save them from being attacked by the animals.

<sup>2</sup> I once heard of a collector of flint implements who labelled all his specimens with oil colours upon the flint itself. He was overhauling his collection and threw several specimens away. The country people found these, and not understanding the mysterious marks upon them, regarded them as charms, and treasured them accordingly.



talked about. This has all been fully described by Mr. Elworthy in his book upon the Evil Eye.

The types, however, to which my paper specially refers are worn by the races of various parts of the African continent and the islands of the South Pacific. They are undoubtedly charms and not mere ornaments, for it is a most significant fact that an object possessing the mystic power in the eyes of one tribe has no value or meaning at all with the people of even a neighbouring part of the country or of an adjacent island.

As will be seen from the specimens before you, a considerable number of forms are symbolised; I am speaking now of the original forms selected, altered, or adapted by the natives. Large discs are cut from the great shells of the *Tridacna*; the apex of the shell of the genus *Conus* is cut so as to show the spiral of the whorl (No. 10). Both these forms seem to suggest the solar disc, the spiral pattern of the latter suggesting rotary motion. The teeth and claws of certain animals, besides the symbolism already alluded to, are, I consider, worn as a protection against the very animals represented by these teeth and claws, as in the case of the menagerie attendants already referred to. The human teeth worn so abundantly by certain tribes in the neighbourhood of Ashanti are, in my opinion, so worn with the idea of absorbing the bravery of the slain foe by the wearer. The same principle is found to exist in the case of cannibalism. The fish-charm (No. 17) is curiously interesting, as also are the arrow, or spear, heads. This latter object has always apparently been regarded as of mystic origin by those who did not understand what it was; usually under the titles of "Elf-darts" and "Thunderbolts," in Europe. It is, however, curious to find natives of Africa holding this superstition, as the knowledge of iron in a crude form seems to have been of great antiquity, and the African native was using a native-made many-barbed arrow when the North American

Indians were "making arrowheads of jasper, arrowheads of chalcedony," (Hiawatha).

Beads, although generally regarded as merely ornaments, are also charms. Indeed, I am of the opinion that all beads were originally worn as such, for I think we may take it that the first bead worn by prehistoric man was simply a stone with a hole through it, which being in his opinion uncanny and unaccountable, was at once invested with mystic power; besides, many naturally perforated stones are exceedingly suggestive of eyes, and even now holed stones are worn as charms against the Evil Eye. The cretaceous fossil organism *Porospora globularis*, has been found in France as a necklet associated with a burial of the Neolithic period; and portions of the stems of Encrinites, sometimes called St. Cuthbert's beads, help to throw light upon the origin of modern beads. But this is too wide a subject to discuss in this paper.

Having thus referred to the various charms and amulets bearing upon the remarkable revelation which I came upon with such surprise, and at the same time with such real regret, I will now proceed to describe the collection of specimens before you.

It seems to have occurred to some dreadfully ingenious individual that if he could only get a quantity of the highly-prized objects worn by the natives of countries where such things as ivory, skins, gold-dust, and similar trifles were obtainable, it would be uncommonly good business. So original specimens were got and copies carefully made—in Bohemia, of course! Curiously enough, the native took to the innovation, although with that keen sense of his he *must* have known that his tiger-tooth or his shell-disc was not of the orthodox material.

But now comes a still more remarkable point. Not content with really beautifully-made facsimiles of these charm objects, in which even the colours showed that those who copied these teeth and shells were real artists, fancy colours



became introduced, so that we find cone-shell tops, cowries, tiger's teeth and claws made up in variously coloured glass—blue, green, pink, &c., &c.

And what is still more remarkable, the natives, I understand, positively prefer this novel idea! Again, glass is giving way to celluloid, also in varied colours! and also to the, apparently, great satisfaction of the native. In respect to amber, however, this material is very effective as a substitute, and I very much question if a native, unaware of the electric test, would be able to detect the fraud. Real amber beads of large size are of considerable value, so that here we have an appreciable example of the advantage to the trader in such a cheap substitute as the example before us.

Perhaps, however, the most interesting examples of the collection are to be found in the series of arrowheads. Some of them are really large enough to be regarded as spear-heads, but I think this merely an exaggeration in size. This form seems to have commenced as a fairly accurate copy in glass of an arrowhead of white chert, chalcedony, or red cornelian, but with the curious addition of a hole, which, I understand, is for the finger, these charms being worn on the hand. A very important feature, indeed the only mark of decoration, consists of three parallel lines across the base of the arrowhead, doubtless a survival of the lashing by which its prototype was fastened to its shaft. We next find this arrowhead merging into blue and other coloured glass, quite unlike any natural stone, and therefore becoming devoid of meaning (Plate IV., fig. 12*a*). The next type is of white glass, bearing the Ottoman symbol of the Star and Crescent in gold (fig. 12*b*.) Then we have gorgeous colouring of no apparent motive, one bearing the picture of a horseman, another a view of an African settlement, another a star arrangement, another the sign of the Christian Cross, two others again have the Crescent mixed up with other designs. Then we get still further advanced

types in metal to imitate gold, one of which has a sham diamond let into the Star and Crescent device. Now in all these remarkable ramifications in which the arrowhead has run riot, one thing remains persistent throughout, and that is the three lines symbolical of the lashing to which I have referred. This persistent retention of an obsolete part of an object undergoing a process of evolution is very interesting and has been observed in many other forms, and indeed may be seen in designs of decorative art common around us.<sup>1</sup> Again, we have here also the introduction of the celluloid article, and undoubtedly in a very degraded form. The shape is becoming confused, the colours are unnatural for the most part; they bear no decorative ornament, and even the three "fibre" lines are absent (fig. 13). I should have mentioned that most of the glass forms bear notches on their cutting edge; this I consider to be a survival from the serrated chipping of the original arrowhead of flint.

There are one or two points for consideration suggested by this curious collection. We have seen, even in this small series, how a type differentiates, and how such changes and innovations meet with the approval and even the encouragement of the natives. When and where will it stop? Will it be possible, in a few years, to say what a certain charm originally was? Will the native, if he remains as he is long enough, be able to recognise the rubbish made for him in the European markets, or will these charms, as is usually the case, become degraded into mere ornaments to be worn by the natives upon the inartistic European clothing which seems to be the inevitable costume of the future? Another regrettable feature is the lamentable destruction of aboriginal design by these

<sup>1</sup> An interesting illustration of this exists in the two buttons fixed to the back of a man's coat. These have, now, no meaning or use whatever, although they formerly were for buttoning up the tails of the coat when on horseback.



cheap European trade goods. Already our museums are gradually acquiring specimens illustrating the influences of the European markets; and necklets and ornaments chiefly composed of German beads, but of native arrangement, are commonly met with. The traveller of the near future will, I fear, find in his anxiety to obtain collections illustrative of aboriginal art, that his most valued examples will prove to have simply been "Made in Germany."

EDWARD LOVETT.

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## THE ORIGIN OF TOTEM NAMES AND BELIEFS.

BY A. LANG, M.A., LL.D., ETC.

(*Read at Meeting of 16th July, 1902.*)

[These pages have been a good deal altered since the draft was read to the Society. They are meant to form part of a book not yet named, my own portion being introductory to "Primal Law," a treatise left in MS. by my cousin, the late Mr. J. J. Atkinson.]

TOTEM names are the titles of groups of kindred, real or imagined; they are derived from animals, plants, and other natural objects; they appear among tribes who reckon descent either on the sword or spindle side, and the totem name of each group is usually (but not in the case of the Arunta) the mark of the exogamous limit. None may marry a person of the same totem name. But, in company with this prohibition, is found a body of myths, superstitions, rites, magical practices, and artistic uses of the totem.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As to the word "totem" but little is certainly known. Its earliest occurrence in literature, to my knowledge, is in a work by J. Long (1791), *Voyages and Travels of an Indian Interpreter*. Long sojourned among the Algonquin branch of the North American Indians. He spells the word

## SACRED ANIMALS IN SAVAGE SOCIETY.

Savages, both in their groups of kin, in their magical societies or clubs, and privately as individuals, are apt to regard certain beasts, plants, and so on, as the guardians of the group, of the society, and of the private person. To these animal guardians, whether of the individual, the society, or the group of kin, they show a certain amount of reverence and respect. That reverence naturally takes much the same forms, the inevitable forms; as, of not killing or eating the animal, occasionally of praying to it, or of burying dead representatives of the species, as may happen. But I am unaware that the savage ever calls his *personal* selected animal or plant, or the guardian animal of his magical *society* (except among the Arunta, where the totem groups are evolving into magical clubs), by the same term as he applies to the *hereditary* guardian of his group of kindred—his totem, as I use the word. If I am right, this distinction has been overlooked, or thought insignificant, by some modern inquirers. Major Powell, the Director of the Ethnological Bureau at Washington, appears to apply the word *totem* both to the chosen animal friend of the individual, and to that of the magical society in America, which includes men of various group-totems.<sup>1</sup> He also applies it to the totem of the kin. Mr. Frazer, too, writes of (1) The Clan Totem, (2) The Sex Totem (in Australia), (3) "The Individual Totem, belonging to a single individual, and not passing to his descendants," and even indicates that one savage may have five totems.<sup>2</sup> The third rule, as to the non-hereditary character of "The Individual Totem" has, since Mr. Frazer wrote in 1887, been found to admit

"Totam," and even speaks of "Totamism." Mr. Tylor has pointed out that Long in one place confuses the totem, the hereditary kin-name, and protective object, with what used to be called the *manitu*, or "medicine," of each individual Indian, chosen by him, or her, after a fast, at puberty. *Remarks on Totemism*, 1898, pp. 139-140 (in *J. A. I.*, vol. xviii).

<sup>1</sup> *Man*, 1902, No. 75.

<sup>2</sup> *Totemism*, p. 2, 1887.



of more exceptions than he then knew. In a few cases and places, the animal selected by, or for, the private individual is found to descend to his or her children. In my opinion it is better, for the present at least, to speak of such protective animals of *individuals*, by the names which their savage *protégés* give to them in each case: *nyarongs* (Sarawak), "bush-souls" (Calabar), *naguals* (Central America), *manitus* (?) as among the Algonquins, and so forth.<sup>1</sup> I myself here use "totem" only of the object which lends its name, hereditarily, to a group of kin.

PROPOSED RESTRICTION OF THE USE OF THE WORD  
TOTEM.

This restriction I make, not for the purpose of simplifying the problem of totemism by disregarding "the individual totem," "the sex totem," and so on; but because I understand that savages everywhere use one word for their hereditary group-totem, and other words for the plant or animal protectors of individuals, of magical societies, and so forth. The true totem is a plant or animal, the hereditary friend and ally of the group; but all plant or animal allies of individuals or of magical societies are not totems. Though the attitude of a private person to his *nagual*, or of a magical society to its protective animal, may often closely resemble the attitude of the group to its hereditary totem, still, the *origin* of this attitude of respect may be different in each case.

This is obvious, for the individual or society deliberately adopts an animal protector and friend, usually suggested in a dream, after a fast; whereas we can scarcely conceive that the totem was deliberately adopted by the first members of the first totem groups. Savages look on animals as personalities like themselves, but more powerful, gifted

<sup>1</sup> So also Mr. Hartland writes, *Man*, 1902, No. 84. But *manitu* is perhaps too wide and vague a term. It usually connotes anything mystical or supernatural.

with more *wakan*, or *mana*, or cosmic *rapport*: each man, therefore, and each organised magical society, looks out for, and, for some reason of dream or divination, adopts a special animal friend. But it is hard to believe that the members of a primeval human group of unknown antiquity consciously and deliberately made a compact to adopt, and for ever be faithful to, this or that plant, animal, element, or the like: to be inherited in the female line.

We cannot prove that it was not so, that a primitive group of rudimentary human beings did *not* make a covenant with bear or wolf, as Israel did with Jehovah, and as an individual savage does with his *nyarong*, or *nagual*, or *manitu*. This covenant, if made and kept by each group, would be the origin of totemism. But I am not certain that this theory, involving joint and deliberate selection and retention of a totem by a primeval human group, has ever been maintained, unless it be by Mr. Jevons. "The primary object of a totem alliance between a human kin and an animal kind is to obtain a supernatural ally against supernatural foes."<sup>1</sup> The term "supernatural" seems here out of place, both the animal kind and the human kin being natural; and one has a difficulty in conceiving that very early groups of kin would make, and would adhere to such alliances. Indeed, how could they adhere to their totems, when these descended through women of alien totem groups? But there seems to be nothing otherwise impossible or self-contradictory in this theory, nor can it be disproved, for lack of evidence. Only such theories as are self-contradictory, or inconsistent with the known and admitted facts of the case, are capable of absolute disproof.

It may, of course, be objected here that though totems, in actual savage society, descend sometimes in the female line, still, descent in the male line may be the original rule; and that thus a group, like an individual, could seek, make

<sup>1</sup> *Introduction to the History of Religion*, p. 214. Major Powell has said something to the same effect, but that was in a journal of "popular science."



a covenant with, and cleave to, a grub, or frog, or lizard, as a supernatural ally. But, for reasons already indicated, in an earlier part of the work whereof this is a chapter, I conceive that, originally, totems descended in the female line only. One reason for this opinion is that, as soon as descent of the totem comes by the male line, a distinct step in the upward movement towards civilisation and a settled life is made. It is not very probable that the backward step from reckoning by male lineage to descent in the female line, has often been taken. On the other hand, tribes which now inherit the totem in the male line, exhibit in their institutions many survivals of female descent. An instance is that of the Mandans, as recorded by Mr. Dorsey.<sup>1</sup> Among the Melanesians, where female descent still exists, there is at work the most obvious tendency towards descent through males, as Dr. Codrington proves in an excellent work on that people. Dr. Durkheim, too, has pointed out the traces of uterine descent among the Arunta, who now reckon in the male line.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, where we find descent in the male line, I am not aware that we discover signs of movement in the opposite direction. In this opinion that, as a general rule, descent was reckoned in the female, not the male line, originally, I have the support of Mr. E. B. Tylor.<sup>3</sup> For these reasons the hypothesis of the selection of and covenant with a "supernatural ally," plant or animal, by the deliberate joint action of an early group, at a given moment, involving staunch adherence to the original resolution, rather strains belief; and a suggestion perhaps more plausible will be offered later. But, given the general savage attitude towards the lower and inanimate creation, this theory of the original choice and retention of a plant or animal guardian by a primitive group seems to be one which may be held without disrespect to logic. At all events, it

<sup>1</sup> *Bureau of Ethnology*, 1893-94, p. 241.

<sup>2</sup> *L'Année Sociologique*, v., pp. 93, 99, 100. As far as the proof rests on Arunta traditions, I lay no stress upon it.

<sup>3</sup> *J. A. I.*, vol. xviii., No. 3, p. 254.

makes the totem name, from the beginning, a group name, which I conceive to have been the actual state of affairs.

#### THE WORD "TOTEM."

As to the precise original meaning and form of the word usually written "totem," whether it should be "totam," or "todaim," or "dodaim," or "ododam," or "ote," philologists may dispute.<sup>1</sup> They may question whether the word means "mark," or "family, or tribe," or clay for painting the family mark.<sup>2</sup> When we here use the word "totem" we mean, at all events, the object which gives its name to a group of savage kindred, who may not marry within this hereditary name. In place of "totem" we might use the equivalent *murdu* of the Dieri, or *gaura* of the Kunundaburi.<sup>3</sup>

#### THE TOTEM "CULT."

The "cult," if it deserves to be called a "cult," of the totem, among savages, is not confined to abstention from marriage within the name. Each kin usually abstains from killing, eating, or in any way using its totems (except in occasional ceremonies, religious or magical), is apt to claim descent from or kindred with it, or alternations of metamorphosis into or out of it, and sometimes uses its effigy on memorial pillars, on posts carved into a kind of genealogical tree, or tattoos or paints or scarifies it on the skin, in different cases and places.

To what extent the blood-feud is taken up by all members of the slain man's totem, I am not fully aware; it varies in different regions. The eating or slaying of the totem by a person of the totem name is, in places, believed to be punished by disease or death; a point which the late Mr. J. J. Atkinson observed among the natives of New Caledonia (MS. *penes me*). Mr. Atkinson happened to be conversing with some natives on questions of anthropology,

<sup>1</sup> Frazer, *Totemism* p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Major Powell, *Man*, 1901, No. 75.

<sup>3</sup> Howitt, *J. A. I.*, xx., pp. 40-41, 1891.



when his servant brought in a lizard which he had killed. On this one of the natives exhibited great distress, saying, "Why have you killed my father: we were talking of my father, and he came to us." The son (his name was Jericha) then wrapped the dead lizard up in leaves, and reverently laid the body in the bush. This was not a case like that of the Zulu *Idhlozi*, the serpents that haunt houses, and are believed to be the vehicles of the souls of dead kinsfolk. The other natives present had for their "father," one a mouse, another a pigeon, and so on. If any one ate his animal, "father," sores broke out on him, and Mr. Atkinson was shown a woman thus afflicted for having eaten her "father." But I do not find in his papers, that a man with a mouse for father might not marry a woman of the mouse set, nor have I elsewhere been able to ascertain what is New Caledonian practice on this point.<sup>1</sup> When Mr. Atkinson made these observations (1874) he had only heard of totems in the novels of Cooper and other romancers.

TENDENCY TO FIND TOTEMISM WHERE IT DOES NOT  
EXIST.

This example is here cited because, as far as I am aware, no other anthropologist has observed this amount of totemism in New Caledonia. Students are divided into those who have a bias in favour of finding totemism everywhere, and those who aver, with unconcealed delight, that in this or the other place there are no totems. Such negative statements must always be received with caution. An European may live long among savages before he really knows them,

<sup>1</sup> The Marquis d'Eguilles kindly sends me extracts from an official "Notice sur la Nouvelle Calédonie," drawn up for the Paris Exhibition of 1900. The author says that the names of relationships are expressed by the Kanaka "in a touching manner." One name includes our "Uncle" and "Father," another our "Mother" and "Aunts"; another name includes our "Brothers," "Sisters," and "Cousins." This, of course, is "the classificatory system." About animal "fathers" nothing is said.

and, without possessing totemism in full measure, many races retain obvious fragments of the institution.

Mr. Tylor has censured the use of the terms "totems" and "totem-clans" with respect to the Fijians and Samoans, where certain animals, not to be eaten, are believed to be vehicles or shrines of certain gods. It is a very probable conjecture (so probable, I think, as almost to amount to a certainty) that the creatures which are now the shrines of Fijian or Samoan gods of the family, or of higher gods, were once totems in an earlier stage of Samoan and Fijian society and belief. As I have said elsewhere, "In totemistic countries the totem is respected himself, in Samoa the animal is worshipful because a god abides within him. This appears to be a theory by which the reflective Samoans have explained to themselves what was once pure totemism."<sup>1</sup> But I must share in Mr. Tylor's protest against using the name of "totem" for a plant or animal which is regarded as the shrine of a god. Such thorough totemists as some of the North American Indians or the Australians do not explain their totems as the shrines of gods, for they have no such gods to serve as explanations. That myth appears to be the Samoan or Fijian way of accounting for the existence of worshipful and friendly plants and animals. Thus, at all events, and unluckily, the phrase "the totem-god" is introduced into our speculations, and the cult of the "totem-god" is confused with the much more limited respect paid by savages to actual totems. However attractive the theory of "the totem-god" may be, we cannot speak of "totems" where a god incarnate in a plant or animal is concerned. Such a deity may be a modified survival of totemism, but a totem he is not. Moreover, it is hardly safe to say that, in the Samoan case, the god is "developed from a totem," we only know that the god has got into suspiciously totemistic society. On the whole, we cannot be too cautious

<sup>1</sup> Tylor, *Remarks on Totemism*, pp. 141-143. *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*, ii., pp. 56-58. Turner's *Samoa*, p. 17 (1884).



in speaking of totems and totemism, and we must be specially careful not to exaggerate the more or less religious respect with which totems are, in many cases, regarded. The Australians, as far as they have the idea of a creative being, Baiame, Nooreli, and so forth, do not regard their totems as shrines or incarnations of him. That appears to be the later speculation of peoples who, probably by way of animism and ancestor worship, are already in the stage of polytheism. Totems in their earliest known stage have very little to do with religion, and probably, in origin, had nothing religious about them.

#### SAVAGE SPECULATIONS AS TO THE ORIGIN OF TOTEMISM.

Peoples who are still in the totemistic stage, as we have seen, know nothing about the beginnings of the institution. All that they tell the civilised inquirers is no more than the myth handed down by their own tradition. Thus the Dieri or Dieyrie, in Australia (as we have elsewhere remarked), say that the totems were appointed by the ancestors for the purpose of regulating marriages after consultation with Mura Mura, or with "the" Muramura. The Woeworung, according to Mr. Howitt, have a similar legend.<sup>1</sup> It is not necessary, here, to ask whether Mura Mura is "the Supreme Being" (Gason, Howitt) or "ancestral spirits" (Fison).<sup>2</sup> The most common savage myth is of the Darwinian variety: each totem-kin is descended from, or evolved out of, the plant or animal type which supplies its totem. Again, as in fairy tales, a woman gave birth to animals, whence the totem kins derive their descent. In North West America totems are often accounted for by myths of ancestral heroes who had adventures with this or that animal. "The Tlingit" (Thlinket) "hold that souls of ancestors are reborn in children, that a man will be reborn as a man, a wolf as a wolf, a raven as a raven." Nevertheless the totems are

<sup>1</sup> Howitt, *On the Organisation of Australian Tribes*, p. 136, note, 1889.

<sup>2</sup> See Miss Howitt's paper, *infra*, p. 403.

regarded as "relatives and protectors," and it is explained that, in the past, a human ancestor had an adventure with this or that animal, whence he assumed his totem armorial bearings.<sup>1</sup> In precisely the same way a myth, a very late myth, was invented about the adventure of a Stewart with a lion, to account for the Lyon of the Stewarts.<sup>2</sup> The Haidas and Thlinkets, believing as they do that human souls are reborn human, cannot hold that a bestial soul animates a man, say, of the Raven totem. The Arunta, on the other hand, suppose that the souls of animals which evolved into human beings, are reincarnated in each child born to the tribe. "Two clans of Western Australia, who are named after a small opossum and a little fish, think that they are so called because they used to live chiefly on these creatures."<sup>3</sup> This myth has some support in modern opinion; the kins, it is argued, received their totem names from the animals and plants which mainly formed their food supply, though *now* their totems are sparingly eaten by them. These legends and others are clearly ætiological myths, like the Samoan hypothesis that gods are incarnate in the totems. The myths merely try to explain the original connection between men and totems, and are constructed on the lines of savage ideas about the relations of all things in the universe, all alike being personal, and rational, and capable of inter-breeding, and of shape-shifting. Certain Kalaman-tans of Sarawak will not eat a species of deer, because "an ancestor became a deer of this kind."<sup>4</sup> All such fables, of course, are valueless as history; and, in the savage stage of the intellect, such myths were inevitable.

#### MODERN THEORIES.

Mr. McLennan himself at first had a theory, which, as far as I heard him speak of it, was more or less akin to my

<sup>1</sup> Tylor, *Remarks on Totemism*, p. 134.

<sup>2</sup> So also to explain the crests of the Hamiltons, the Skenes, and many others.

<sup>3</sup> Frazer, *Totemism*, p. 7.

<sup>4</sup> Hose and McDougall, *J. A. I.*, vol. xxxi. (1901), p. 193.



own. But he abandoned it, says his brother, Mr. Daniel Mc Lennan, for reasons that to him appeared conclusive. I ought to mention that Mr. A. H. Keane informed me, several years ago, that he had independently evolved a theory akin to mine, of which, as it then stood, I had published some hint. Mr. Keane's printed statement of his theory I have not read. In 1884<sup>1</sup> I wrote, "People united by contiguity, and by the blind sentiment of kinship not yet brought into explicit consciousness, might mark themselves by a badge, and might thence derive a name, and, later, might invent a myth of their descent from the object which the badge represented." But why should such people mark themselves by a badge, and why, if they did, should the mark be, not a decorative or symbolic pattern, but the representation of a plant or animal? These questions I cannot answer, and my present guess is not identical with that of 1884.

Meanwhile let us keep one point steadily before our minds. Totemism, at a first glance, seems a perfectly crazy and irrational set of beliefs, and we might think, with Dr. Johnson, that there is no use in looking for reason among the freaks of irrational people. But man is never irrational. His reason for doing this, or believing that, may seem a bad reason to us, but a reason he always had for his creeds and conduct, and he had a reason for his totem belief, a reason in congruity with his limited knowledge of facts and with his theory of the universe. For all things he wanted an explanation. Now what he wanted a reason for, in totemism, was the nature and origin of the connection between his own and the neighbouring groups and the plant or animal names which they bore. Messrs. Spencer and Gillen write "what gave rise, in the first instance, to the association of particular men with particular animals and plants, it is impossible to say." But it is not impossible to guess, with more or less of probability. The connection once established, savages

<sup>1</sup> *Custom and Myth*, p. 262.

guessed at its origin; their guesses, as always, were myths, and were of every conceivable kind. The myth of descent from or kinship with the animal or plant, the Darwinian myth, does not stand alone. Every sort of myth was fashioned, was believed, and influenced conduct. Our business is to form our own guess as to the original connection between men and their totems, a guess which shall be consistent with human nature.

#### MR. MAX MÜLLER'S THEORY.

Many such guesses by civilised philosophers exist. We need not dwell long on that of Mr. Max Müller, akin, as it is, to my own early conjecture, "a totem is a clan-mark, then a clan-name, then the name of the ancestor of the clan and lastly the name of something worshipped by the clan."<sup>1</sup> We need not dwell on this, because the kind of "clan-mark" referred to on a pillar outside of the quarters of the clan, in a village, is peculiar to North America, and to people dwelling in fixed settlements. Among the nomadic Australians, we have totemism without the settlements, without the totem-pillar, without the "clan-mark" on the pillar, which, thus, cannot be the first step in totemism. Again, the "clan-name," or group-name, must be earlier than the "clan-mark," which merely expresses it, just as my name is prior to my visiting card, or as the name of an inn, The Red Lion, is prior to the sign representing that animal. Obviously we have to ask first, *whence comes the clan-name, or group-name?*

#### MR. HERBERT SPENCER'S THEORY.

The conjecture of Mr. Herbert Spencer, again, need not detain us.<sup>2</sup> He supposes a man named by an animal name or nickname, like Wolf the Unwashed in the Saga, or Sitting Bull of the Sioux. Such personal names, or nicknames, are very common. The man dies, and, on the hypothesis, is

<sup>1</sup> *Contributions to the Science of Mythology*, i., p. 201.

<sup>2</sup> *Principles of Sociology* (1876), i., pp. 359-368.



worshipped as an ancestor, *under his animal name*. A confusion arises, people come to think that the animal which they revere is not the dead man, but the creature whose name he bore.

As totem names usually, and at first, probably always, come through the maternal side, and as ancestors in low savagery are easily forgotten (their very names being tabued), and as personal names derived from animals continue to be everyday affairs, this derivation of the totem is highly improbable. No confusion was likely to arise. Again, this derivation is impossible, where the totemists, as in Australia, are not ancestor-worshippers at all, as certainly the Australians are not. Mr. Spencer's theory does not quite explain how in really primitive society with descent in the female line, the name of a male ancestor became *hereditary*.

#### MR. FRAZER'S THEORIES.

The hypotheses of Mr. J. G. Frazer are purely provisional. He starts from the idea so common in *Märchen*, of the person whose "soul," "life," or "strength," is secretly hidden in an animal, plant, or other object. The owner of the soul wraps the "soul-box" up in a mystery, it is the central secret of his existence, for he may be slain by any one who can discover and destroy his "soul-box." Next, Mr. Frazer offers many cases of this actual belief and practice among savage and barbarous peoples; and as a freak or survival, the idea is found even among the civilised. We meet the superstition in the Melanesian group of islands (where totemism is all but extinct), and perhaps among the Zulus, with their serpent *Idhlosi*, whose life is associated with their own. Mr. Atkinson's New Caledonians, however, did not think that death inflicted on their animal "fathers" involved danger to themselves, though it distressed them as an outrage to sentiment. Then we have the "bush-souls," (one soul out of four in the possession of each individual), among the natives of Calabar. These souls,

Miss Kingsley wrote, are never in plants, but always in *wild* beasts, and are recognisable only by second-sighted men. The "bush-soul" of a man is often that of his sons: the daughters often inherit the mother's "bush-soul": or children of both sexes may take after the bush-soul of either father or mother. The natives will not injure their bush-soul beasts. Nothing is known as to prohibition of marriage between persons of the same bush-soul. Here we have really something akin to the totem, the bush-souls being hereditary, at least for one generation. But this is among a house-dwelling, agricultural people, far above the state of real savagery: not among a primitive people.

The Zapotecs of Central America, again, choose, by a method of divination, "a *tona* or second self," an animal for each child at its birth. It is, by the nature of the case, not hereditary. The *nagual*, usually a beast, of each Indian of Guatemala is well known; and is discovered on the monition of a dream, by each individual. Therefore it cannot be hereditary. The sexes, in Australia, have each a friendly and protecting species of animal; say a bat for all men, a nightjar for all women: indeed, in Australia, all the elements of nature have their place in the cosmic tribe. To injure the animal of either sex, is to injure one of the sex. There is no secret about the matter.

Mr. Frazer then argues "the explanation which holds good of the one," (say the "sex-totem," or "personal totem"), "ought equally to hold good of the other," (the group-totem). "Therefore the reason why a tribe," (I venture to prefer to say "kin," as there are many totem in each "tribe") "revere a particular species of animals or plants . . . and call themselves after it, would seem to be a belief that the life of each individual of the tribe is bound up with some one plant or animal of the species, and that his or her death would be the consequence of killing that particular animal, or destroying that particular plant." Mr. Frazer thinks that "this explanation



squares well" with Sir George Grey's description of a *Kobong* or totem in Western Australia. There a native gives his totem "a fair show" before killing it, always affording it a chance of escape, and never killing it in its sleep. He only does not shoot his kindred animal *sitting*; and his plant he only spares "in certain circumstances, and at a particular period of the year." Mr. Frazer writes that as the man does not know which individual of the species of plant or animal "is specially dear to him, he is obliged to spare them all, for fear of injuring the dear one." But the man, it seems, from Grey's account, does not "spare" any of them; he kills or plucks them "reluctantly," and in a sportsmanlike manner, "never without affording them a chance of escape." In a case of Sir George Grey's, the killing of a crow hastened the death of a man of the crow totem, who had been ailing for some days. But the Australians do not all think that to kill a man's totem is to kill the man. Somebody's totem is killed whenever any animal is slain. Mr. Frazer now finds that the Battas, for example, "do not in set terms affirm their eternal soul to be in their totems," and I am not aware that any totemists do make this assertion. They freely offer all other sorts of mythical explanations as to what their totems originally were, as to the origin of their connection with their totems, but never say that their totems are their "soul-boxes."

Mr. Frazer has an answer to this objection. "How close must be the concealment, how impenetrable the reserve in which he," (the savage), "hides the inner keep and citadel of his being." The giant in the *Märchen*, tries to keep the secret of his "soul-box," much more than does "the timid and furtive savage." "No inducement that can be offered is likely to tempt him to imperil his soul by revealing its hiding place to a stranger. It is therefore no matter for surprise that the central mystery of the savage's life should so long have remained a secret, and that we should be left

to piece it together from scattered hints and fragments, and from the recollections of it which linger in fairy tales."

On reflection, we cannot but see the flaw in this reasoning. No savage has revealed to *European inquirers* that his totem is his "soul-box." *But every other savage knows his fatal secret.* Every savage, well aware (by the hypothesis) that his own totem is the hiding-place of his soul, knows that the totems of his enemies are the hiding-places of *their* souls. He wants to kill his enemies, and he has an easy mode of doing so, merely to shoot down every specimen of their totems. His enemies will then die, when he is lucky enough to destroy their "soul-boxes." Now I am not aware, in the destructive magic of savages, of a single case in which a totem is slain, or tortured, for the purpose of slaying or torturing a man of that totem. All other sorts of sympathetic magic are practised, but where is the evidence for that sort, which ought to be of considerable diffusion?<sup>1</sup> The supposed "secret" of savage life is no secret to other savages. Each tells any inquirer what his "clay" or totem is. He blazons his totem proudly. The nearest approach to invidious action against a totem, with which I am acquainted, is the killing by the Kurnai women, of the men's "sex-totem," when the young men are backward wooers. The purpose is to produce a fight between lads and lasses, a rude form of flirtation, after which engagements or elopements are apt to follow.<sup>2</sup>

Mr. Frazer tentatively suggests another, a rival or a subsidiary solution of the problem. Among the Arunta and other tribes, "the totemic system has a much wider scope, its aim being to provide the community with a supply of food and all other necessities by means of certain magical ceremonies, the performance of which is distributed among

<sup>1</sup> I am haunted by the impression that I have met examples, but where, I know not.

<sup>2</sup> Howitt, *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vol. xviii., p. 58.



the various totem groups." That is to say, these totemic magical ceremonies *now* exist for the purpose of propagating and preserving animals or vegetables, which, by the former theory, were "soul-boxes," but are later to be killed for food. This would endanger the lives of the tribesmen, but to risk *that* is quite in accordance with the practical turn of the Arunta mind. Mr. Frazer has, indeed, suggested a probable method of reconciling his earlier hypothesis, that a totem was a soul-box, with his later theory, that the primal object of totem-groups was to breed their totems for food.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Frazer observes "it is not as yet clear how far the particular theory of totemism suggested by the Central Australian system is of general application, and . . . in the uncertainty which still hangs over the origin and meaning of totemism, it seems scarcely worth while to patch up an old theory which the next new facts may perhaps entirely demolish." He then cites the Arunta belief that their ancestors of "the dream time" (who were men evolved out of animals or plants, these objects being their totems) kept their souls (like the giant of the fairy tale) in stone *churingas*, which they hung on poles when they went out hunting. We thus have a *va et vient* between each man, and the spirit of the plant or animal out of which he was evolved. That spirit (in origin the spirit of an animal or plant) is handed down with the stone *churinga*, and is reincarnated in each child, who is thus an incarnation of the original totem. Such is the Arunta theory, and thus each living Arunta is the totem's soul-box, while, to savage reasoners, the totem-soul may, perhaps, seem to also tenant each plant or animal of its species.

This is a logical theory of totemism, but so far, we know the facts on which it is based chiefly among one extraordinary tribe of anomalous development. We have still to ask, what was the original connection of the men with the plants and

<sup>1</sup> *Golden Bough*, iii., p. 416, note 3.

animals, which the Arunta explain by their myth. Was that connection originally one of magic-working by each group, for its totem species, and, if so, why or how did the groups first select their plants and animals? Mr. Haddon's theory, presently to be criticised, may elucidate that point of departure.

#### SUGGESTION OF MR. N. W. THOMAS.

As I am writing, a theory, or suggestion, by Mr. N. W. Thomas appears in *Man* (1902, No 85). Mr. Thomas begins with the spirit which dwells in an African fetish, and becomes the servant of its owner. The magical apparatus "may be a bag of skin containing parts of various animals. Such an animal may be the familiar of the owner, his messenger, or an evil spirit that possesses him;" similar beliefs are held about the werwolf. Now the American Indian has *his* "medicine-bag." "The contents are the skin, feathers, or other part of the totem animal."

*Distinguo*: They are parts, not of "the totem-animal," but of the *chosen* animal of the individual, often called his *manitu*. If we say "the totem-animal" we beg the question; we identify the totem with the *manitu* of the individual. It may be true, as Mr. Thomas says, that "the basis of *individual* totemism seems to be the same as that of fetishism," but I am not discussing "individual totemism," but real group-totemism. Mr. Thomas also is clear on this point, but, turning to Australia, he says that "the individual totem seems to be confined to the medicine-man." From information by Mrs. Langloh Parker, I doubt the truth of this idea. A confessedly vague reminiscence of Mr. Rusden does not help us. Speaking of an extinct tribe on the Hunter River, N.S.W., he says that he "does not recollect all their class divisions, they distinctly had the great divisions Yippai," (Ippai) "and Kombo" (Kumbo). "Apropos of the generic names," (whatever these may be), "the Geawegal had a superstition that *every one* had within himself an



affinity to the *spirit* of some beast, bird, or reptile. Not that he sprung from the creature in any way," (as is a common totemic myth), "but that the spirit which was in him was akin to that of the creature." This is vague. Mr. Rusden does not say that his native informant said, that the "spirit" was the man's totem in each case.<sup>1</sup> But Mr. Thomas, on this evidence, writes, "This belief suggests that the interpretation suggested for individual totemism can also be applied to clan totemism;" apparently because, among the extinct tribe, not only sorcerers, but, in this case, *every one* was the receptacle of an animal (not a plant) spirit. But even granting Mr. Thomas's notion, (unsupported, I think, by evidence), that an American Indian thinks that the spirit of his animal *manitu* dwells within him, obviously the animal spirits of the Geawe-gal may be the spirits—not of their kin-totems, if they had any—but of their individual *manitus*, which we do not know to be confined to sorcerers. Every one is a sorcerer, better or worse, in a society where every one works magic.

Next, the werwolf has a way of returning "to look at" (to *eat*, I think), the body of his victim. Now in North Queensland, as in Scotland, the body of a dead man is surrounded with dust or ashes, (flour in Scotland), and the dust is inspected, to find the tracks of some bird or animal.<sup>2</sup> From such marks, if any, "the totem of the malefactor is inferred." The malefactor is the person who, by the usual superstition, is thought magically to have caused the death of the tribesman. "These facts seem best interpreted if we suppose that in North Queensland the sorcerer is believed to return in animal form, and that the form is that of his totem, for in no other way does it seem possible to identify the man's totem by observing the footsteps."

Is the man's kin-totem meant? If so, the process could not identify "the malefactor"—there are hundreds of men

<sup>1</sup> *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, p. 280.

<sup>2</sup> *J. A. L.*, xiii., p. 191, note 1.

of his totem. Is his *manitu* or "individual totem" meant? Then the process might be successful, but has no concern with the origin of hereditary kin-totemism. Indeed Mr. Thomas "leaves the applicability of the theory to group-totemism for subsequent consideration." We shall show—indeed, in Mr. Herbert Spencer's case we have shown—the difficulty of deriving kin-totemism from the *manitu*, or "obsessing spirit" if Mr. Thomas pleases, of the individual. This point, as is said, Mr. Thomas reserves for later consideration.

#### DR. WILKEN'S THEORY.

We now come to a theory which exists in many shapes, but in all is vitiated, I think, by the same error of reasoning. Mr. Tylor, however, has lent at least a modified approval to the hypothesis as mooted by the late Dutch anthropologist, Dr. Wilken, of Leyden. Mr. Tylor writes, "If it does not completely solve the totem-problem, at any rate it seems to mark out its main lines." Unluckily the hypothesis of Dr. Wilken is perhaps the least probable of all. The materials are found, not in a race so comparatively early as the Australians or Adamanese, but among the settled peoples of Malay, Sumatra, and Melanesia. By them, in their tables of precedence, "the crocodile is regarded as equal in rank to the Dutch resident." Crocodiles are looked on as near kinsmen of men who, when they die, expect to become crocodiles. To kill crocodiles is murder. "So it is with tigers, whom the Sumatrans worship and call ancestors."

Mr. Tylor observes, "Wilken sees in this transmigration of souls the link which connects totemism with ancestor worship," and thinks that Dr. Codrington's remarks on Melanesian ways add weight to this opinion. In Melanesia, as Dr. Codrington reports, an influential man, before his death, will lay a ban, or tabu, on something, say a banana, or a pig. He says that he "will be in" a shark, a banana, a bird, a butterfly, or what not. Dr. Codrington's informant,



Mr. Sleigh, of Lifu, says, "that creature would be sacred to his family," they would call it "papa," and "offer it a young cocoanut." "*But they did not adopt thus the name of a tribe.*" The children of papa, who chose to be a butterfly (like Mr. Thomas Haynes Bailey) do not call themselves "The Butterflies," nor does the butterfly name mark their exogamous limit. Mr. Tylor concludes "an ancestor, having lineal descendants among men and sharks, or men and owls, is thus the founder of a totem-family, which mere increase may convert into a totem-clan, already provided with its animal name." This conclusion is tentative, and put forth with Mr. Tylor's usual caution. But, as a matter of fact, no totem-kin is actually founded thus, for example in Melanesia. The institutions of that region, as we can show, really illustrate the way out of, not the way into, totemism. Moreover the hypothesis as expressed by Mr. Tylor in the words cited, must be deemed unfortunate, because it takes for granted that "the Patriarchal theory" of the origin of the so-called "clan," or totem group, is correct. A male ancestor founds a family, which swells, "by natural increase," into a "clan." The ancestor is worshipped under the name of Butterfly; his descendants, the clan founded by him, are named Butterflies. But all this can only happen where male ancestors are remembered, and are worshipped, where descent is reckoned in the male line, and where, as among ourselves, a remembered male ancestor founds a house, as Tam o' the Cowgate founded the house of Haddington. In short Dr. Wilken has slipped back into the Patriarchal theory. Now, among totemists like the Australians, ancestors are not remembered, their names are tabued, they are not worshipped, they do not found families.<sup>1</sup>

#### MISS ALICE FLETCHER'S THEORY.

An interesting variant of this theory is offered, as regards the Omaha tribe of North America, by Miss Alice Fletcher,

<sup>1</sup> Tylor, *Remarks on Totemism*, pp. 146-147, 1898. *J. A. I.*, xxviii.

whose knowledge of the inner mind of that people is no less remarkable than her scientific caution.<sup>1</sup> The conclusion of Miss Fletcher's valuable essay shows at a glance, that her hypothesis contains the same fundamental error as that of Dr. Wilken: namely, the totem of the kin is derived from the *manitu*, or personal friendly object of an individual, a male ancestor. This cannot, we repeat, hold good for that early stage of society which reckons descent in the female line, and in which male ancestors do not found houses, clans, names, or totem-kins.

The Omaha men, at puberty, after prayer and fasting, choose *manitus* suggested in dreams or visions. Miss Fletcher writes, "As totems could be obtained but in one way—through the rite of the vision—the totem of a *gens* must have come into existence in that manner, and must have represented the manifestation of an ancestor's vision, that of a man whose ability and opportunity served to make him the founder of a family, of a group of kindred who dwelt together, fought together, and learned the value of united strength."<sup>2</sup>

It is needless to remark that this explanation cannot explain the origin of totemism among tribes where descent is reckoned in the female line, and where no man becomes "the founder of a family." The Omaha, a house-dwelling, agricultural tribe, with descent in the male line, with priests, and departmental gods, a tribe, too, among whom the *manitu* is not hereditary, can give us no line as to the origin of totemism. Miss Fletcher's theory demands the hereditary character of the individual *manitu*, and yet it is never inherited.

#### MR. HILL-TOUT'S THEORY.

Mr. Hill-Tout has evolved a theory out of the customs of the aborigines of British Columbia, among whom "the clan

<sup>1</sup> *The Import of the Totem*. By Alice C. Fletcher. (Salem Press, Mass., 1897.)

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 12.



totems are a development of the personal or individual totem or tutelar spirit." The Salish tribes, in fact, seek for "*sulia*, or tutelar spirits," and these "gave rise to the personal totem," answering to *manitu*, *nyarong*, *nagual*, and so forth. "From the personal and family crest is but a step to the clan crest." Unluckily, with descent in the female line, the step cannot be taken. Mr. Hill-Tout takes a village-inhabiting tribe, a tribe of village communities, as one in which totemism is only nascent. "The village community apparently formed the original unit of organisation." But the Australians, who have not come within measurable distance of the village community, have already the organisation of the totem-kin. Interesting as is Mr. Hill-Tout's account of the Salish Indians, we need not dwell longer on an hypothesis which makes village communities prior to the evolution of totemism. What he means by saying that "the *gens* has developed into the clan," I am unable to conjecture. The school of Major Powell use "*gens*" of a totem-kin with male, "clan" of a totem kin with female, descent. Mr. Hill-Tout cannot mean that male descent is being converted into descent in the female line? As he writes of "a four-clan system, each clan being made up of groups of *gentes*," he may take a "clan" to signify what is usually called a "phratry" or "class division."<sup>1</sup>

MESSRS. HOSE AND MCDUGALL.

Among other efforts to show how the hereditary totem of a group might be derived from the special animal or plant friend of an individual male, may be noticed that of Messrs. Hose and McDougall.<sup>2</sup> The Ibans, or Sea Dyaks, of Sarawak are probably of Malay stock, and are "a very imitative people" of mixed, inconsistent, and extravagant

<sup>1</sup> "The Origin of the Totemism of the Inhabitants of British Columbia," *Transactions of Royal Society of Canada*, Second Series, vol. vii., 1901-1902. Quaritch, London.

<sup>2</sup> *J. A. I.*, vol. xxxi., p. 196, *et seq.*

beliefs. They have a god of agriculture, and, of course, are therefore remote from the primitive; being rice-farmers. They respect *Nyarongs*, or "spirit-helpers," though Mr. Hose lived among them for fourteen years without knowing what a *Nyarong* is. "It seems usually to be the spirit of some ancestor, or dead relative, but not always so . . . ."

The spirit first appears to an Iban in a dream, in human form, and the Iban, on awaking, looks for the *Nyarong* in any casual beast, or quartz crystal, or queer root or creeper. So far the *Nyarong* is a fetish. Only about two per cent. of men have *Nyarongs*. If the thing be an animal, the Iban respects the other creatures of the species. "In some cases the cult of a *Nyarong* will spread through a whole family or household." Australian individuals have also their secret animal friends, like *nyarongs* and *naguals*, but these are never hereditary. What is hereditary is the totem of the kin, which may not be altered, or so seldom that it would be hard to find a modern example; though changes of totems may have occurred when, in the pristine "treks" of the race, they reached regions of new fauna and flora. "The children and grandchildren," our authors go on, "among the Ibans, will usually respect the species of animal to which a man's *Nyarong* belongs, and perhaps sacrifice fowls or pigs to it occasionally." Of course "primitive" man has no domesticated animals, and does not sacrifice anything to anybody. "If the great grandchildren of a man behave well to his *Nyarong*, it will often befriend them just as much as its original *protégé*." It is not readily conceivable that among very early men and where the names of the dead are tabued, the wisest great-grandchild knows who his great-grandfather was. Still, though the great-grandfather was forgotten, his *Nyarong*—it may be said—would be held in perpetual memory, and become the totem of a group. But this is not easily to be conceded, because there would be the competition of the *Nyarongs* of each generation to crush the ancient *Nyarong*: moreover, the totem, in



truly primitive times, is not inherited from fathers, but from mothers.

Our authors say that, in some cases, "all the members of a man's family, and all his descendants, and, if he be a chief, all the members of the community over which he rules," may come to share in the benefits of his *Nyarong*, and in its rites. But all this of chiefs, and great-grandchildren of a known great-grandfather, all this occurring to-day among an imitative and agricultural people with departmental deities and domesticated animals, cannot give us a line to the Origin of Totemism among houseless nomads, who tabu the memory of their dead, and, as a rule, probably reckoned descent on the female side, so that a man could not inherit his father's totem. We must try to see how really early men became totemic. Mr. Frazer observes "it is quite possible that, as some good authorities incline to believe, the clan-totem has been developed out of the individual totem by inheritance," and Miss Alice C. Fletcher has been cited as holding this process to be probable in North America.<sup>1</sup> All such theories are based on the beliefs and customs of modern savages advancing, like the American Indians of to-day, towards what is technically styled "barbarism." It was not in the state of barbarism, but in a savagery no longer extant, that totemism was evolved. Totemism derived from inheritance of a male ancestor's special "spirit-helper" is checked by the essential conditions of people who are settled, agricultural, and given to reckoning descent in the male line. No more can be produced, in such a state than "abortive beginnings of totemism."<sup>2</sup> Exogamy is never reached on these lines, and totemism is behind, not in front, of all such peoples. Totemism arose in the period of the Group, not of the family-founding male ancestor.

Messrs. Hose and MacDougall, it is to be noted, do not

<sup>1</sup> *Golden Bough*, iii., p. 419, note 5.

<sup>2</sup> Hose and MacDougall, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

say that totemism is now being developed in Sarawak, out of *nyarongs*. They only say that it perhaps might be so developed "in the absence of unfavourable conditions." If there existed "prosperous families," each with a *nyarong*, other families would dream of *nyarongs*, and it would become rather disreputable to have none. "So a system of class totems would be established." But male kinship, agriculture, metal-working, chiefship, and large houses were certainly non-existent when totemism was first evolved. We must not look in such advanced society for the origin of totemism. In Sarawak is a houseless nomadic race, the Punans. Among them totemism has not yet been observed, but they are so little known, that the present negative evidence cannot be regarded as conclusive. Mr. Hose knew the Ibans for fourteen years without learning what a *nyarong* is, and it was by mere accident that Mr. Atkinson discovered the animal "fathers" of the Kanakas.

#### MR. HADDON'S THEORY.

Mr. Haddon has suggested a theory which he has printed in the *Proceedings of the British Association* (1902). On this scheme, at a very early period, groups, by reason of their local environment, would have special varieties of food. Thus, at present, in New Caledonia, the Sea branch of a tribe has coco-nuts, fish of all sorts, and so forth, while the Bush branch has bananas and other commodities, and the Sea and Bush moieties of the tribe meet at markets for purposes of barter. But, in a really primitive state, there will be no cultivation, as there is in New Caledonia. Still, a coast savage might barter crabs for a kangaroo, and, if landed property is acknowledged, owners of plum-trees, or of a spot rich in edible grass-seeds, might trade these away for lobsters and sea-perch. Not having any idea of real cultivation, or of pisciculture (though they may and do have "close" seasons, under tabu), the savages may set about working magic for their specialities in food. Thus it is con-



ceivable that the fishers might come to be named "crab-men," "lobster-men," "cuttle-fish-men," by their neighbours, whom they would speak of as "grass-men," "plum-men," "kangaroo-men," and so on. When once these names were accepted (I presume), and were old, and now of unknown or rather forgotten origin, all manner of myths to account for the connection between the groups and their animal names would arise. When the myth declared that the plants and animals were akin to their name-giving creatures, superstitious practices would follow. We have seen two cases in which Australian totem-groups averred that they were named totemically after a small species of opossum, and a fish which their ancestors habitually ate. But that is an explanatory myth. Man cannot live on opossums alone, still less on sardines.

My own guess admits the possibility of this cause of giving plant and animal names to groups, among other causes. But I doubt if this was a common cause. In Australia, every thing that can be eaten *is* eaten by all the natives of a given area, each group having only a tendency to spare its own totem, while certain other tabus on foods exist. In this condition of affairs, very few groups could have a notable *special* variety of food, except in the case of certain fruits, grass-seeds, and insects. For these articles the season is almost as brief as the season of the mayfly or the grannom. "When fruits is in, cats is out," as the pieman said to the young lady. During the rest of the year, all the groups in a large area will be living on the same large variety of reptiles, roots, animals such as rats and lizards, birds, and so forth. It does not seem probable that, except as between the Sea and Bush parts of a tribe, there could be much specialisation in matters of diet, during the greater part of the year. Therefore I do not think that the derivation of totem-names from special articles of food can ever have been common. But local knowledge is necessary on this point. Are the totem-kins of Australia settled on lands peculiarly notable

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for the plants and animals whose names they bear? If so, that circumstance may account for the totem-names of each group, and—granting that the origin of the names is long ago forgotten, and that native speculation has explained the names by myths—the rest is easy.

It will appear, when we come to my conjecture, that it varies from Mr. Haddon's only on one point. We both begin with plant and animal names given by the various groups, *from without*. We then suppose (or at least I suppose) the origin of the names to be forgotten, and a connection to be established between the groups and their name-giving objects; a connection which is explained by myths, while belief in these gives rise to corresponding behaviour—respect for the totem, and for his human kinsfolk. The only difference is that my theory suggests several sources of the names, while Mr. Haddon offers only one source, special articles of food and barter. Kindreds, to be sure, are *now* named, not from what they eat (scores of things), but from the one thing which (as a kindred) they do not eat. But this, when once the myths of kinship with the totem arose, might be a later development, arising out of the myth. In essentials, my conjecture appears to be in harmony with Mr. Haddon's—the two, of course, were independently evolved.

On one point I perceive no difficulty and no difference. It has been suggested that Mr. Haddon "commences with the commencement," whereas, in the hypothetical early age which we both contemplate, people had scarcely a sufficient command of language to invent nicknames. Why more command of language is needed for the *application* of nicknames, than of names, I do not perceive. In Mr. Haddon's theory, as in mine, names already existed, names of plants and animals. In both of our hypotheses, those names were transferred to human groups; in my conjecture, for a variety of reasons; in his, solely from connection with special articles of food eaten and bartered by each group. I am



not convinced that, so early, the relations between groups would admit of frequent barter; nor, as has been said, am I certain that many groups could have a very special article of food in an age prior to cultivation. But, granting all that to Mr. Haddon, no more command of language is needed by my theory than by his. Each conjecture postulates the existence of names of plants and animals, and the transference of the names to human groups. If gesture-language was prior to spoken language, in each case gesture-names could be employed, as in North America, totem names are to this day expressed in gesture-language. In my own opinion, man was as human as he is to-day, when totem-names arose, and as articulate. But if he was not, gesture-language would suffice.

I shall illustrate my theory from folklore practice. We might do the same for Mr. Haddon's. We talk of "the Muffin-man," the man who sells muffins. A *Volkslied* says:

"She fell in love with the cat's meat man,  
The man who sells the meat!"

We call one person "The English Opium Eater," another "The Oyster Eater," another "The Irish Whiskey Drinker." Here are nicknames derived from dealing in, or special consumption of, articles of food.

Many others occur in my folklore and savage lists of group-names. They all imply at least as much command of language, as the names, ultimately totem-names, given for various reasons in my theory. Thus Mr. Haddon and myself do not seem to me to differ on this point: his theory goes no farther back in culture than mine does: nay, he assumes that barter was a regular institution, which implies a state of peace, almost a state of co-operation.

#### STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM.

Let us concentrate, now, our attention on the character of the genuine totem, the totem of the group or kin. It is

not adopted by the savages on a dream-warning; each man or woman for himself or herself: nor is it chosen for each child at birth, nor by a diviner, as is the *nagual*, bush-soul, *nyarong* of Sarawak, or the *secret* animal friend of each individual Australian. A savage *inherits* his group-totem name. The name of any plant or animal which he may adopt for himself, or have assigned to him as a personal name by his parents, or, so to speak, godparents, is *not* his totem. My meaning is, I repeat, that my conjecture is only concerned with hereditary group-totems and hereditary totem-names of kindreds. No others enter into my conjecture as to origin. What some call "personal-totems," adopted by the individual, or selected by others for him after his birth, such as the Calabar "bush-soul," the Sarawak *nyarong*, the Central American *nagual*, the Banks Island *tamaniu*, and the analogous special animal of the Australian tribesman (observed chiefly, as far as I know, by Mr. Howitt<sup>1</sup> and Mrs. Langloh Parker), do not here concern me. They are not *hereditary group-names*.

#### THE AUTHOR'S OWN CONJECTURE.

I now approach my own conjecture as to the origins of the genuine, hereditary, exogamous totemism of groups of kin, (real or imagined). Totemism as we know it, especially in some tribes of North America and in Australia, has certainly, as a necessary condition, that state of mind in which man regards all the things in the world as very much on a level in personality: the beasts being even more powerful than himself. Were it not so, the totem myths about human descent from beasts and plants—about friendly beasts, beasts who may marry men, and about metamorphoses—could not have been invented and believed, even to whatever extent myths *are* believed. So far, there is probably no difference of opinion among anthropologists. The same mental condition reveals itself in the habit of adopting, as we have

<sup>1</sup> *J. A. I.*, vol. xiii.



seen, usually after a fast and in consequence of a dream or of an omen, a special bird or beast or other thing as the protector and friend of the individual man or woman, after which the creature is more or less sacred to the individual and their relations are peculiarly close. If we grant that, in various places, one or other individual man was reckoned sacred after death, that he was believed to reappear in the guise of his protecting animal or plant (as in Melanesia), and that his sons and grandsons especially revered the brute or plant and came to claim descent from it, and to name themselves hereditarily from it (wolves, trout, frogs, or what not), we should get something very like a germ of totemism. But the objections to this theory have been stated.

#### THE CONNECTION BETWEEN GROUPS AND TOTEMS.

In all theories, the real problem is, how did the early groups get their totem-names? The names once accepted and stereotyped implied a connection between each kindred and the animal, plant, or other thing in nature whose name the kindred bore. Round the mystery of this connection the savage mind would play freely, and would invent the explanatory myths of descent from, and kinship or other friendly relations with, the name-giving objects. A measure of respect for the objects would be established; they might not be killed or eaten, except under necessity; magic might be worked by human emus, kangaroos, plum-trees, and grubs for their propagation, as among the Arunta and other tribes; or against them, to bar their ravaging of the crops, as among the Sioux. As a man should not spear a real emu, if the emu was his totem, so he should not marry or have an amour with a woman who was also of the emu blood. That is part of the tabu.

All these things, given the savage stage of thought, would inevitably follow from the recognised but mysterious connection between men and the plants and animals from which they were named. All such connections, to the

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savage, are blood relationships, and such relationship involves the duties which are recognised and performed. *But how did the early groups come to be named after the plants and animals; the name suggesting the idea of connection, and the idea of connection involving the duties of the totemist to his totem, and of the totem to the totemist?*

#### NO "DISEASE OF LANGUAGE."

The names, I repeat, requiring and receiving mythical explanations, and the explanations necessarily suggesting conduct to match, are the causes of totemism. This theory is not a form of the philological doctrine, *nomina numina*. This is no case of disease of language, in Mr. Max Müller's sense of the words. A man is called a cat, all of his totem-kin are cats. The language is not diseased, but the man has to invent some reason for the name common to his kin. It is not even a case of Folk-Etymology, as when a myth is invented to explain the *meaning* of the name of a place, or person, or thing. Thus the loch of Duddingston, near Edinburgh, is explained by the myth that Queen Mary, as a child, used to play at "dudding" (or skipping) stones across the water, "making ducks and drakes." Or again, marmalade is derived from *Marie malade*. Queen Mary, as a child, was seasick in crossing to France, and asked for *confiture* of oranges, hence *Marie malade*—"marmalade." *In both cases, the name to be explained is perverted.* There is no real "stone" in Duddingston—"Duddings' town," the *ton* or *tún* of the Duddings; while "marmalade" is a late form of "marmalet," a word older than Queen Mary's day.

An example of a folk-etymology bordering on totemism, is the supposed descent of Clan Chattan, and of the House of Sutherland, from the Wild Cat of their heraldic crests.



Now Clan Chattan is named, not from the cat, but from Gilla Catain, "the servant of Saint Catan," a common sort of Celtic personal name, as in Gilchrist.<sup>1</sup> The Sutherland cat-crest is, apparently, derived from Catness, or Caithness. That name, again, is mythically derived from Cat, one of the Seven Sons of Cruithne, who gave their names to the seven Pictish provinces, as Fib to Fife, and so on. These Seven Sons of Cruithne, like Ion and Dorus in Greece (Ionians, Dorians), are mere mythical "eponymoi" or name-giving heroes, invented to explain the names of certain districts. In totemism this is not so. Not fancied names, like *Duddingstone*, or *marmalade*, are, in totemism, explained by popular etymologies. Emu, kangaroo, wolf, bear, raven, are real, not perverted names; the question is, why are these names borne by groups of human beings? Answers are given in all the numerous savage myths, whether of a divine ordinance, (Dieri, Woeworung), or of descent and kinship of intermarriage with beasts, or of adventures with beasts, or of a woman giving birth to beasts, or of evolution out of bestial types; and all these myths suggest mutual duties between men and their totems, as between men and their human kinsfolk. It will be seen that here no disease of language is involved, not even a *volks-etymologie* (a *vera causa* of myth).

If it could be shown by philologists that many totem names originally meant something other than they now do, and that they were misunderstood, and supposed to be names of plants and animals, then "disease of language" would be present. Thus *λύκος* and *ἄρκτος* have really been regarded as meaning, each of them, "the bright one," and the Wolf Hero of Athens, and the Bear of the Arcadians, have been explained away, as results of "disease of language." But nobody will apply that obsolete theory to the vast menagerie of savage totem-names.

<sup>1</sup> Machain, *Etymological Dictionary*, 1896, quoting MS. of 1456.

## HYPOTHETICAL EARLY GROUPS BEFORE TOTEMISM.

But, discarding this old philological hypothesis, how did the pristine groups get their totem-names? We ought first to try to conjecture what these pristine groups were like. They must have varied in various environments. Where the sea or a large lake yields an abundant food supply, men are likely to have assembled in considerable numbers, as "kitchen middens" show, at favourable stations. In great woods and jungles the conditions of food supply are not the same as in wide steppes and prairies, especially in the uniform and arid plateaux of Central Australia. Rivers, like seas and lakes, are favourable to settlement, steppes make nomadism inevitable, before the rise of agriculture. But if the earliest groups were mutually hostile, strongly resenting any encroachment on their region of food supply, the groups would necessarily be small; as in Mr. Darwin's theory of small pristine groups, the male, with his females, daughters, and male sons not adult.<sup>1</sup> A bay, or inlet, or a good set of pools and streams, would be appropriated and watchfully guarded by a group, just as every area of Central Australia has its recognised native owners, who wander about it, feeding on grubs, lizards, snakes, rats, frogs, grass seeds, roots, emus, kangaroos, and opossums.

The pristine groups, we may be allowed to conjecture, were small. If they were not, the hypotheses which I venture to present are of no value, while that of Mr. Atkinson shares their doom. Mr. McLennan, as far as one can conjecture from the fragments of his speculations, regarded the earliest groups as at least so large, and so bereft of women, that polyandry was a general rule. Mr. Darwin, on the other hand, began with polygamy and monogamy, "jealousy determining the first stage."<sup>2</sup> This

<sup>1</sup> *Descent of Man*, ii., p. 362.

<sup>2</sup> *Studies in Ancient History*, Second Series, p. 50.



meant that there was a jealous old sire, who kept the women to himself, as in Mr. Atkinson's theory. As we can scarcely expect to reach certainty on this essential point, anthropology becomes (like history in the opinion of a character in *Silas Marner*), "a process of ingenious guessing." But, embarking on conjecture, I venture to suggest that the problem of the commissariat must have kept the pristine groups very small. They "lived on the country," and the country was untilled. They subsisted on the natural supplies, and the more backward their material culture, the sooner would they eat the country bare as far as its resources were within their means of attainment. One can hardly conceive that such human beings herded in large hordes, rather they would wander in small "family" groups. These would be mutually hostile, or at least jealous; they could scarcely have established a *modus vivendi*, and coalesced into the friendly aggregate of a local tribe, such as Arunta, Dieri, Urabunna, and so on. Such tribes have now their common councils and mysteries, lasting for months among the Arunta. We cannot predicate such friendly union of groups in a tribe, for the small and jealous knots of really early men, watchfully resenting intrusion on their favourite bays, pools, and hunting or browsing grounds. As to marriage relations, it is not improbable that "sexual solidarity," (as Mr. Crawley calls it), the separation of the sexes—the little boys accompanying the men, the little girls accompanying the women—and perhaps also "sexual tabu," coupled with the jealousy of male heads of groups, may already have led to raids for women upon hostile groups. The smaller the group, the more easily would sexual jealousy prohibit the lads from dealings with the lasses of their own group.

There might thus, in different degrees, arise a tendency towards exogamy, and specially against son-and-mother, and brother-and-sister marriage. The thing would not yet

be a sin, forbidden by a superstition, but still the tendency might run strong against marriage within each group.

#### HOW THE GROUPS GOT NAMES.

Up to this point we may conceive that the groups were *anonymous*. Each group would probably speak of itself as "the men" (according to a well recognised custom among the *tribes* of to-day), while it would know neighbouring groups as "the others," or "the wild blacks." But this arrangement manifestly lacks distinctness. Even "the others down there" is too like the vague manner in which the Mulligan indicated his place of residence. Each group will need a special name for each of its unfriendly neighbours.

These names, as likely as not, or more likely than not, will be animal or plant names, given for various reasons; among others, perhaps, from fancied resemblances. It may be objected that an individual may bear a resemblance to this or that animal, but that a group cannot. But it is a peculiarity of human nature to think that strangers (of another school eleven, say) are all very like each other, and if one of them reminds us of an emu or a kangaroo, all of them will. Moreover the name may be based on some real or fancied group-trait of character, good or bad, which also marks this or that type of animal, such as cunning, cruelty, cowardice, strength, and so forth. We have also to reckon with the kinds of animals, plants, trees, useful flints, and other objects, which may be more prevalent in the area occupied by each group; and with specialities in the food of each group's area, as in Mr. Haddon's theory. Thus there are plenty of reasons for the giving of plant and animal names, which, I suggest, were imposed on each group *from without*.

It is true that place-names would serve the turn, if they were in use. But the "hill-men," "the river-men," "the bush-men," "the men of the thorn-country," "the rock-men," are at once too scanty and too general. Many



groups might fall collectively under each such local name. Again, it is as society moves away from totemism towards male kinship and settled abodes, that local names are given to human groups, as in Melanesia; or even to individuals, as in the case of the Arunta. Among them a child is "of" the place where he or she was born, like our *de* and *Von*.<sup>1</sup> The piquancy of plant and animal names for groups probably hostile must also be considered. We are dealing with a stage of society far behind that of Mincopies, or Punans of Borneo, or Australians, and in imagining that the groups were as a rule hostile, we may or may not be making a false assumption. We are presuming that the jealousy of the elder males drove the younger males out of the group, or at least compelled them to bring in females from other groups, which would mean war. We are also assuming jealousy of all encroachments on feeding-grounds. These are the premises, which cannot be demonstrated, but only put in for the sake of argument. In any case no more hostility than our villages have for each other is enough to provide the giving of animal *sobriquets*.

On this point I may quote MM. Gaidoz and Sébillot (*Blason Populaire de la France*, Paris, Cerf, 1884): "In all ages men have loved to speak ill of their neighbour: to *blazon* him, in the old phrase of a time when our speech was less prudish and more gay. Pleasantries were exchanged, not only between man and man, but between village and village. Sometimes in the expressive word, the defect, or the quality (usually the defect), the dominant and apparently hereditary trait of the people of a race or a province, is stated . . . . in a kind of verbal caricature . . . . *Les hommes se sont donc blasonnés de tout le temps.*"

*De tout le temps!* MM. Gaidoz and Sébillot were not thinking of the origin of totemic names, but their theory

<sup>1</sup> Spencer and Gillen, p. 57, note.

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applies to all ages, even the most primitive. Among their village *sobriquets* I note at a hasty glance :

Largitzen	Cows
Houneal	Frogs
Angoulême	Lizards
Artois	Dogs
Aire	Pigeons
Avalon	Birds
	Eaters of Old Ewes
	" Onions
	" Crows

and we shall see that many Sioux groups, many English villages are blazoned, as in Mr. Haddon's theory, by the names of the things which they eat. Thus, among very early men, the names by which the groups knew each others' neighbours would be names given from without. To call them "nicknames" is to invite the objection that nicknames are essentially *derisive*, and that groups so low could not yet use the language of derision. I see no reason why early articulate-speaking men (or even men whose language is gesture-language) should be so modern as to lack all sense of humour. But the names need not have been derisive. If these peoples had the present savage belief in the *wakan*, or mystic power, of animals, the names may even have been laudatory. I ask for no more than names conferred from without, call them nicknames, sobriquets, or what you like.

We are acquainted with no race that is just entering on totemism, unless we agree with Mr. Hill-Tout that totemism is nascent among the Salish tribe, who live in village communities. Consequently we cannot *prove* that early hostile groups would name each other after plants and animals. I am only able to demonstrate that, alike in English and French folklore, and among American tribes who reckon by the male line, who are agricultural and settled, the villages or groups are named, *from without*, after plants and animals, and after what they are supposed to be specially apt to use



as articles of food, and also by nicknames—often derisive. What I present is, not proof that the early groups named each other after plants and animals, but proof that among our rustics, by congruity of fancy, such names are given, with other names exactly analogous to those now used among settled savages, moving away from totemism.

ILLUSTRATION FROM FOLKLORE.

I select illustrative examples from the *blason populaire* of modern folklore. Here we find the use of plant and animal names for neighbouring groups, villages, or parishes. Thus two informants in a rural district of Cornwall, living at a village which I shall call Loughton, found that, when they walked through the neighbouring village, Hillborough, the little boys "called *cuckoo* at the sight of us." They learned that the cuckoo was the badge, in folklore, of their village. An ancient carved and gilded dove in the Loughton church "was firmly believed by many of the inhabitants to be a representation of the Loughton cuckoo," and all Loughton folk were cuckoos. "It seems as if the inhabitants do not care to talk about these things, for some reason or other." A travelled Loughtonian "believes the animal names and symbols to be very ancient, and that each village has its symbol." My informants think that "some modern badges," such as tiger and monkey, "have been substituted for more ancient ones." There is apparently no veneration of the local beast, bird, or insect, which seems often, on the other hand, to have been imposed from without as a token of derision. Australians make a great totem of the witchetty grub (as Spencer and Gillen report), but the village of Oakditch is not proud of its potato-grub, the natives themselves being styled "tater-grubs." I append a list of villages (with false names) and of their badges:

Hillborough

Loughton

Miltown

Mice

Cuckoos

Mules (it used to be rats)

Ashley	Monkeys
Yarby	Geese
Watworth	Bulldogs
Brailing	Peesweeps
Wickley	Tigers
Fenton	Rooks
Linton	Men
Oakditch	Potato-grubs
St. Aldate's	Fools

At Loughton, when the Hillborough boys pass through on a holiday excursion, the Loughton boys hang out dead mice, the Hillborough badge, in derision. The boys have even their "personal totems," and a lad who wishes for a companion in nocturnal adventure will utter the cry of his peculiar beast or bird, and a friend will answer with *his*. If boys remained always boys (that is, savages), and if civilisation were consequently wiped out, myths about these group-names of villages would be developed, and totemism would flourish again. Later I give other instances of village names answering to totem-names, and in an Appendix (p. 391), I give analogous cases collected by Miss Burne in Shropshire, while others, we saw, are to be found in the *blason populaire* of France.

It appears to me that group-names may, originally, have been imposed *from without*, just as the Eskimo are really Inuits, Eskimo being the derisive name conferred by their Indian neighbours. Of course I do not mean that the group-names would always, or perhaps often, have been, in origin, derisive nicknames. Many reasons, as has been said, might prompt the name-giving. But each such group would, I suggest, evolve animal and vegetable nicknames for each neighbouring group. Finally some names would "stick," would be stereotyped, and each group would come to answer to its nickname, just as "Pussy Moncrieff," or "Bulldog Irving," or "Piggy Frazer," or "Cow Maitland," does at school.



HOW THE NAMES BECAME KNOWN.

Here the questions arise, how would each group come to know what name each of its neighbours called it, and how would hostile groups come to have the same nicknames for each other? Well, they would know the nicknames through taunts exchanged in battle.

"Run, you deer, run!"

"Off with you, you hares!"

"Scuttle, you skunks!"

They would readily recognise the appropriateness of the names, if derived from the plants, trees, or animals most abundant in their area, and most important to their food supply; for, at this hypothetical stage, and before myths had crystallised round the names, they would have no scruples about eating their name-giving plants, fruits, fishes, birds, and animals. They would also hear their names from war captives at the torture-stake, or on the road to the oven or the butcher. But the chief way in which the new group-names spread would be through captured women, for, though there might as yet be only a tendency towards exogamy, still girls of alien groups would be captured as mates. "We call you the Skunks," or whatever it might be, such a bride might remark, and so knowledge of the new group-names would be diffused.

TOTEMIC AND OTHER GROUP NAMES, ENGLISH AND  
NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN.

It may seem almost flippant to suggest that this old mystery of totemism arises, in the first instance, only from group-names given from without, some of them, perhaps, derisive. But I am able to demonstrate that, in North America, the names of what some American authorities call "*gentes*" (meaning old totem-groups, which now reckon descent through the male, not the female line) actually *are* nicknames—in certain cases derisive. Moreover, I am able to prove that, when the names of these

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American "*gentes*" are not merely totem-names, they answer, with literal precision, to our folklore village *sobriquets*, when *these* are not names of plants or animals. The late Rev. James Owen Dorsey left, at his death, a paper on "The Siouan Sociology."<sup>1</sup> Among the "*gentes*" (old totem kindreds with male descent) he noted the "*gentes*" of a tribe, "The Mysterious Lake Tribe." There were, in 1880, seven "*gentes*." Three names were derived from localities. One name meant "Breakers of (exogamous) Law." One was "Not encumbered with much baggage." One was "Rogues" ("Bad Nation.") These three last names are derisive nicknames. The seventh name was "Eats no Geese," obviously a totemic survival. Of the Wahpeton tribe all the seven "*gentes*" derived their names from localities. Of the Sisseton tribe, the twelve names of "*gentes*" were either nicknames (one, "a name of derision") or derived from localities. Of the Yankton "*gentes*," five names out of seven were nicknames, mostly derisive, the sixth was "Bad Nation" (Rogues), the seventh was a totem name, "Wild Cat." Of the Hunpatina (seven "*gentes*") three names were totemic (Drifting Goose, Dogs, Eat no Buffalo Cows), the others were nicknames, such as "Eat the Scrapings of Hides." Of the Sitcanxu, there were thirteen "*gentes*." Six or seven of their titles were nicknames, three were totemic, the others were dubious, such as "Smellers of Fish." The Itaziptec had seven "*gentes*"; of their names all were nicknames, including "Eat dried venison from the hind quarter." Of the Minikooju, there were nine "*gentes*." Eight names were nicknames, including "Dung Eaters." One seems totemic, "Eat No Dogs." Of five Asiniboin "*gentes*" the names were nicknames from the habits or localities of the communities. One was "Girls' Band," that is "Girls."

Now compare parish *sobriquets* in Western England.<sup>2</sup> In this list of parish or village nicknames twenty-one are

<sup>1</sup> *Report of American Bureau of Ethnology*, 1893-94, p. 213 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Thirteenth Report of the Committee of Devonshire Folklore*, Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, 1895, xxvii., pp. 61-74.



derived from plants and animals, like most totemic names. We also find "Dog Eaters," "Bread Eaters," "Burd Eaters," "Whitpot Eaters," and answering to "Girls' Band" (*Gens des Filles*) "Pretty Maidens," answering to "Bad Nation," "Rogues," answering to "Eaters of Hide Scrapings," "Bone Pickers," while there are, as among the Siouans, names derived from various practices attributed to the English villagers, as to the Red Indian "*gentes*."

No closer parallel between our rural folklore *sobriquets* of village groups, and the names of old savage totem-groups (now reckoning in the male line, and, therefore, now settled together in given localities) could be invented. I conceive, therefore, that my suggestion—the totem names of pristine groups were originally given from without, and were accepted (as in the case of the nicknames of Siouan "*gentes*," now accepted by them)—may be reckoned no strain on our sense of probability. It is demonstrated that the name-giving processes of our villagers exist among American savage groups which reckon descent in the male line, and that it also existed among the savage groups which reckoned descent in the female line, is, surely, a not unreasonable surmise. I add a list in parallel columns.

ENGLISH GROUP NAMES.		SIOUAN GROUP NAMES	
Rogues		Bad Sorts	
Stags		Elk	
Bull Dogs		Common Dogs	
Horse-heads		Warts on Horses' Legs	
Bone-Pickers		Hide-Scrapers	
Whitpot	} Eaters	Dried Venison	} Eaters
Cheese		Fish	
Barley Bread		Dung	
Dog			
Pretty Girls		Girl Folk	
Animal and Vegetable Names		Animal and Vegetable Names	

THEORY THAT SIOUAN GENTES-NAMES ARE OF  
EUROPEAN ORIGIN.

To produce, from North America, examples of group-names conferred from without, as in the instances of our English villages, may, to some students, seem inadequate evidence. For example, an unconvinced critic may say that the nicknames of Mr. Dorsey's "Siouan *gentes*" were originally given by white men; the Sioux, Dakota, Asiniboin, and other tribes having been long in contact with Europeans. Now it is quite possible that some of the names had this origin, as Mr. Dorsey himself observed. But no critic will go on to urge that the common totemic names which still designate many "*gentes*" were imposed by Europeans who came from English villages of "Mice," "Cuckoos," "Tater grubs," "Dogs," and so forth. We might as wisely say that our peasantry borrowed these village names from what they had read about totem names in Cooper's novels. To name individuals, or groups, after animals, is certainly a natural tendency of the mind, whether in savage or civilised society.

If we take the famous Mandan tribe, now reckoning descent in the male line, but with undeniable survivals of descent in the female line, we find that the "*gentes*" are—

Wolf  
Bear  
Prairie Chicken  
*Good Knife*  
Eagle  
*Flat-Head*  
*High Village.*

Here, out of seven "*gentes*," four names are totemic; one is a name of locality, "High Village," not a possible name in pristine nomadic society. While there are hundreds of such cases, we cannot reasonably regard the manifest nicknames as generally of European origin. Still more does



this theory fail us in the case of Melanesia, where contact with Europeans is recent and relatively slight. Among such tribes as the Mandans, and other Siouan peoples, we see totemism with exogamy and female kinship waning, while kinship recognised by male descent, *plus* settled conditions, brings in local names for *gentes*, and tends to cause the substitution of local names and nicknames for the totem group name. Precisely the same phenomena meet us in Melanesia.

But this is "matter for a separate dissertation."

Perhaps I ought to add that the kind of group names used in totemic circles are peculiarly adapted to being signalled in gesture language, as we know that they actually are, and are thus peculiarly serviceable in savage life.

A. LANG.

#### APPENDIX (*see p.* 386).

##### ENGLISH RHYMES ON VILLAGE SOBRIQUETS.

Edgmond, Shropshire, where I lived for the first half of my life, is a large parish containing besides the village itself (Edgmond), where the church is situated, a number of small scattered hamlets or townships, and isolated farms. Tibberton, Cherrington, Adeney, Butterey, and Wall, are some of these.

A tradesman of the neighbouring town of Newport, who was a bit of a local antiquary, one day early in 1884, when taking a country ramble in the neighbourhood of Tibberton, "came upon an old lady nursing a baby, and singing the following ditty :

' Tibberton tawnies, Cherrington chats,  
Adeney dogs and Butterey rats,  
Four bulldogs fast in a pen  
Dare not come out for Edgmond men.'

"On inquiry," the hearer adds, "I found out this to be a very old nursery rhyme, handed down from generation to generation." He sent it to *Salopian Shreds and Patches*,

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the then-current local *N. & Q.* column (Feb. 13, 1884), where I saw it.

I was not then living at Edgmond, but I made inquiries there through trustworthy channels, and discovered that two old people, natives of Edgmond, gave the first two lines as follows:

" Tibberton tawnies, Cherrington chats,  
Edgmond men, and Adeney cats."

They further said that in their young days, children used to annoy persons who came from these outlying townships to be married at Edgmond parish church, by shouting these words at them. (I have no note of the date at which Tibberton and Cherrington were formed into a separate ecclesiastical district, but this must refer to a time before that event. I could find out the date, probably, if it were thought desirable.)

"Chats," which are explained in the *Shropshire Word Book* as "sticks for firing," were said by some of the old Edgmond people to mean *gossips*. *Tawnies* are explained in the next note. I sent the above to the local paper aforesaid, and its publication brought me the following letter.

"To Miss Charlotte S. Burne,

"From an old Tibberton Tawnie.

"I myself being bred, born, and reared at Tibberton, seeing your sketch in the *Newport Advertiser* concerning Tibberton folks, and as you would like to know the meaning of Tibberton Tawnies, the people of Tibberton years ago were remarkable for being very dark looking, and the real Tibberton-bred folks show their breed to this day. Now I beg leave to correct your rhyme, which perhaps you will please correct in the *Advertiser*. The old true rhyme runs as follows:

" Tibberton Tawnies, Cherrington Chats,  
(*ric* Edgement Bulldogs and Adeney Cats,  
spelling) Edgement Bulldogs made up in a pen  
Darna come out for Tibberton men."



"I myself, with between fifty and sixty others, have collected together many a time to shout out this rhyme if we have seen any Edgmond folks come down Tibberton street, as the oldest man now living in the dear little village of Tibberton will speak to the truth of my statement.

"A. B. C."

The remark on the dark complexions of the Tibberton people is *true* as regards the only family I had any particular knowledge of.

I also got an Adeney version, I forget from whom, but I believe from the old churchwarden, who owned one of the two farms there. This omits both Edgmond and Adeney. It is—

*Adeney.* "Tibberton tawnies, Cherrington chats  
Wall dogs, and Buttery rats."

*Cf.* the other versions, which I repeat here.

*Edgmond.* "Tibberton tawnies, Cherrington chats,  
Edgmond men, and Adeney cats."

*Edgmond.* "Tibberton tawnies, Cherrington chats,  
Adeney dogs, and Buttery rats,  
Four bull-dogs fast in a pen  
Darna come out for Edgmond men."

*Tibberton.* "Tibberton tawnies, Cherrington chats,  
Edgmond bull-dogs, and Adeney cats,  
Edgmond bull-dogs made up in a pen  
Darna come out for Tibberton men,"

C. S. BURNE.

#### NOTES OF DISCUSSION.<sup>1</sup>

Dr. A. C. HADDON: Mr. Lang has cleared the ground of his adversaries as drastically as savages clear the land for cultivation, by burning all they find growing on it! I agree with him that the *nagual* and "personal totems" are a separate subject from group-totemism, and that the group-names must have preceded the group-marks; while the fact

<sup>1</sup> Only the more elaborate speeches are recorded. See p. 339.

that, so far as we know, savages never deliberately destroy the totems of their enemies is a strong point against the "soul-box" theory. In Torres Straits, as in Australia, a group (or, as one is more in the habit of saying, a "clan") may have one chief totem and a number of subsidiary totems; though the exact relation of these to each other is at present obscure. Mr. Lang's hypothesis, or, as he says, "guess," is that the people of any small group call themselves "men," and call one another by animal nicknames. The "guess" which I should like to make is as follows: Primitive man moved about in small groups, and each small group was necessarily composed of related individuals. No savage peoples have an unlimited amount of space to wander in; their area is limited by their coming in contact with similar groups, and almost every part of the savage world is marked out into hunting-grounds beyond which the proprietary groups do not go. Thus there would be a certain number of families living along a coast, others up the river, others in the jungle, and so there would come about groups of people each living mainly on one kind of food. In Australia and New Guinea we find there is a distinct idea that food of any kind can hardly grow naturally by itself, but that it is necessary to assist nature by means of magic; hence a number of magical ceremonies are practised for the purpose of increasing the food-supply. Of course the most important fact in life for man, whether savage or civilised, is his food; so the first aim of man would always be to get enough food for himself. Therefore each group of people would naturally direct its magical ceremonies to the increase of the particular kind of food on which it chiefly depended. When these groups, by force of circumstances, came to mingle together, there would be family groups each having, in addition to its own speciality in food-magic, a peculiar sympathetic relation with a particular group, or groups, of animals and plants; because the livelihood of each depended on the knowledge of the habits of particular animals, or of the flowering and fruiting seasons of particular trees. I have myself seen shrines for making fruitful coco-nut trees, bananas, and other plants, and I know that this is the business of definite groups of people. Thus we get departmental group-magic, for, when these primitive totem-groups came to be synthesised into tribes, each would still



have some natural product which was its special charge, of which the members of that group would naturally know more than anybody else, and which they would continue to increase (as they thought) by means of magical ceremonies. But although man, doubtless, very early performed magic for the increase of his food, I am of opinion it cannot strictly be termed a "primitive" custom. I venture to think that the sympathetic relationship of a group of men with a group of living beings was yet earlier.

Now as to the question of naming. In restricted localities the possible varieties of food were also restricted, and the men and the food became associated in name. The men who constantly caught crabs would naturally be called the "crab-men." Those whose speciality it was to catch kangaroos or turtle, or to collect coco-nuts, would be known, and would most probably regard themselves as kangaroo-men, or turtle-men, or coco-nut-men. A man who had a lot of wild plums and wanted a little fish-diet would say, "We will go to the crab-men and exchange our plums for their crabs." So the names would arise naturally, and myths as to their origin would spring up as a matter of course. I suspect that hunger is really at the bottom of totemism, though naturally other elements have entered into it at various times. I should know more than I do about totemism, as I happen to be a "crocodile" myself!

Mr. GOMME: It appears to me that a great deal too much stress has been laid on the after-results of totemism. The myth-making period is of course long after the origin of totemism, and in studying its origin we must remember that not only Australians and North Americans, but African and Asiatic peoples have totem beliefs and ideas. The mere existence of such beliefs and ideas does not constitute totemism. They are almost universal, but they have been taken up into a social system among a few tribes only. That such a social system could have been framed on the mere custom of naughty boys calling each other nicknames seems to me a theory which can hardly be accepted. In no totem system with which I am acquainted do I come across one whole group of people so separated from other groups and called by a separate group-name, as to make such a theory possible. My own idea would rather be to take first such groups as are not totemists at all, to discover what totem beliefs and ideas exist among them, to compare

them with peoples among whom the totem system had been developed, and to observe how some peoples took up these ideas and used them as the basis of their political and social system. Such a comparison, I think, would show us a great deal. Anthropologists have, I think, paid a great deal too little attention to the economic side of primitive man's necessities. I know of no treatise which deals exhaustively with the economical conditions of primitive man, and I cannot help feeling that when we understand what these economic conditions were, we may find in that direction an explanation of the origin of totemism. In the meantime, the admirable way in which Mr. Lang has put aside a large number of interesting ideas which have passed for good scientific theories of totemism is exactly what was wanted. He has done for these theories of totemism what he did in previous years for other theories of mythology.

MR. MARETT: I come from a place which I make bold to compare with a Greek city-state, and in which clannishness reigns supreme, the island of Jersey. There they always refer to the Guernseymen as "donkeys," whilst the Guernseymen return the compliment by speaking of the Jersey-men as the "*crapauds*"; *crapaud* being the name of the enormous toad that frequents every lane in the island.<sup>1</sup> Now when I was four or five years old, I had already come to realise that I was a *crapaud*, and the member of a society of *crapauds*. And this, I fancy, rather altered my views as to the nature and status of the *crapaud*. Though objectively and in itself it might seem a somewhat odious beast, it became henceforth for me undoubtedly interesting, and, perhaps I might say, something towards which I had dim feelings of kinship. There were a certain number of superstitions that prevailed in my native place in regard to *crapauds*. I certainly was made to understand as a child that to hurt one of these animals in any kind of way would somehow be fatal to my future prospects. And this, I think, is, or was, the belief of the average Jerseyman.

Now the English and French, in whom, so to speak, we islanders are not immediately interested, have, as far as I know, no animal nicknames amongst us. We keep these intimate *sobriquets* for home use, as it were. Wherefore I would hazard the conjecture that, supposing Mr. Lang's

<sup>1</sup> [The Guernsey people have a legend relating how St. Patrick banished all reptiles from their island.—ED.]



general theory that totem-names are originally nicknames to be correct, such names arise amongst groups closely related in some way or other, and friendly on the whole rather than hostile. Indeed, how otherwise would such groups come to understand the meaning of the nicknames fastened on them from without—by the stranger?

Mr. LANG: They always took wives from one another.

Mr. MARETT: Ah, that assumes exogamy to have been prior to totemism—a somewhat big assumption. To establish such a view one would have, I take it, to cast about on the one hand for instances of tribes that were exogamous but non-totemistic, and on the other for instances of tribes that displayed totemism of some more or less recognisable kind without exogamy. Now if the former class of cases turned out to be decidedly commoner than the latter, this would look as if exogamy were the more fundamental institution. But if contrariwise a totemism free of exogamy was common and an exogamy free of totemism rare, then we might guess that totemism had begotten exogamy. And I may add that in attacking such a problem of distribution one must beware against defining totemism too narrowly, even if philologically the name "totem" applies to the group-symbol only. If totemism were cause and exogamy effect, such totemism, we may be sure, would cover a good many forms of theriolatric belief and custom. Meanwhile, I believe that this question whether exogamy is cause and totemism effect, or *vice versa*, is the prime difficulty we have to face in connection with the subject broached by Mr. Lang.

\*.\* With regard to the Cornish evidence on pp. 385, 386, Mr. Lang writes to us that he communicated it to the *Athenæum* three years ago, using the same pseudonyms; and that the real names, which he thought it undesirable to make public, may be found in the authority cited in Note 2, p. 388. Neither he nor his informants knew, when writing to the *Athenæum*, that the facts had already been published in 1895.—*Ed.*

## AUSTRALIAN MARRIAGE SYSTEMS.

BY A. LANG.

*(Abstract of Paper read at the Meeting of 25th October, 1902, in the Hall of Exeter College, Oxford.)*

[This note briefly represents what I had to say at Oxford. Circumstances made it impossible to read out the large mass of facts and arguments. What is here said of Messrs. Fison, Howitt, Spencer, and Gillen is especially, and perhaps it may be thought unfairly, condensed, above all as the statements of these authors waver to some extent. They were fully stated in the original copy of a paper too long and complex for delivery to the Oxford audience, but later to appear in the book already mentioned. The ideas expressed, except where suggested by the MS. of Mr. Atkinson, are my own, but I find that Dr. Durkheim, the Rev. John Mathews (in *Eagle-Hawk and Crow*), Mr. Daniel McLennan, and Herr Cunow have, in different degrees and with modifications, anticipated some of them by undesigned coincidence.—A. L.]

### A.

The so-called "class system" in Australia presents many various forms, and may occur where descent is reckoned either in the male or female line. But, speaking roughly, the following bars on marriage exist:—

1. Each man and woman in a tribe belongs to one of two divisions, or "phratries," within the tribe, say, Matthurie and Kirarawa; Kirarawa must never marry Kirarawa, but always Matthurie, and vice versa.

2. Each man and woman also belongs to a given totem. Under Matthurie, say, six totems are ranged, under Kirarawa six others (except among the Arunta). Persons of the same totem may never intermarry.



3. Each of the two "primary divisions," Matthurie and Kirarawa, is divided into two or more apparently *non-totemic* "classes," the members intermarry as in a cross-figure in a reel, and their children (as regards "class") take a name which is that of the "class" of neither father nor mother; the grandchildren returning to the "class" name of a grandparent.

# B.

What has led to the evolution of these rules? If we take (1) we find the majority of inquirers (say Messrs. Howitt and Fison) alleging that the native names for the two primary divisions are, when they can be translated, usually names of animals. The two primary divisions would thus seem to be totemic. But, on the other hand, most authors, following Mr. Morgan, insist that an original commune or horde existed in an "undivided" shape at first, and that it was deliberately "bisected" so that half of its members might never marry with the other half: each half taking an animal name.

*Why* this law was deliberately made we do not know, and every guess hitherto offered is transparently futile.

However, the bisection was made, each half of the now divided commune received a totemic name, and, next, each half was again "segmented" into so many smaller groups. Each of these (2) was also given a totem-name, and members of each totem-kin must marry out of it.

*Why* was *this* done? Nothing was gained. Already, by the "primary division," no one might marry within his or her totem-name. We receive no light on the motives for this new "segmentation," and are, moreover, puzzled by being told that the totemic divisions existed before they were exogamous, before they regulated marriage. *Why* they existed, for what conceivable purpose, we are not told (unless they were for magical purposes), any more than we are told why they were made exogamous.

These ideas are unsatisfactory; they may be found in the

works of Messrs. Fison, Howitt, Spencer, and Gillen, and many others, which, of course, must be consulted. My own provisional theory I give without compromising any allies.

I take it that very early man did not live in an undivided commune or "horde," of indefinite but considerable size, whose members without jealousy and without shame married "all through other." I think that difficulties of food supply made a big horde then impossible, and that sexual jealousy, in an age so animal, made promiscuity improbable in a high degree.

I conceive, with Mr. Darwin, that men then lived in small knots, probably under one polygamous male. He would drive away his sons as they approached puberty, and all the females, including his daughters, would be his harem. All such male heads of groups would resent poaching on their game, the area of their food-supply, and their female mates.

Here we have a rude exogamy. No young male may marry in the group or "hearth circle." But suppose that senescent or good-humoured patriarchs allowed, here and there, young males to bring in female mates captured from without, probably going shares in them at first. Groups in which this was done would extend their area, being stronger, through the young males in war. Such groups would increase in size and in area of food-supply, while the combined young males would confirm their several rights to their captured females.

Such groups would need names for all the other groups in their radius; these names would be given *from without*, and (by the analogy of *blason populaire* and of the names of American and Melanesian post-totemic groups) would probably be names of animals and plants.

Once accepted by each group, these *sobriquets* would give rise to speculation. "Why are we here Emus, Crows, Hawks, Frogs?" Myths would be invented, "Emu, Crow, Hawk, or Frog is our ancestor, or ancestral friend, or we



are evolved out of him. He (the type) is our friend, and is more or less sacred. We must not eat him, nor touch a woman also of his blood."

Here, under a taboo, are evolved exophagy and exogamy, each with a *superstitious sanction*. Now we have *two* marriage prohibitions, if we suppose that children of a woman of the Hawk or Crow group keeps her group-name when she is brought into the Emu group. As daughter of that *local* group, the Hawk woman's daughter is an Emu, and may not marry an Emu man. But as, by female descent, she is a Hawk, the girl may not marry a man of the local group Emu, who is also a Hawk, as son of a Hawk woman in the Emu group. A man, Emu by local group, Hawk by female descent, must catch a woman, Frog (say) by female descent, Kangaroo by local group. But to get her while local groups are hostile may imply shedding kindred totem blood in battle.

In these circumstances two local groups, Emu and Hawk, may make alliance and *connubium*. If they do, each local totem-group now becomes a "primary division" or "phratry," each phratry containing different totem-kins by female descent, as, in fact, the two-linked intermarrying phratries always do (except among the Arunta). The local totem-taboo, and the taboo of totems by female descent, are both now respected, and a tribe with lawful brides accessible within itself is evolved. There has been no motiveless bisection, no equally motiveless segmentation into new totem-groups, no legislation enforcing exogamy on totem-groups not previously exogamous.

3. There remain the "classes," whose names are not apparently totemic, and whose members do not bequeath the class-name, either on the male or female side, to their children, who revert to grandmaternal or grandpaternal class-names. Of this arrangement, peculiar to Australia, Herr Cunow (1894) offers an explanation which seems to have plausible elements. These "classes" originally conveyed,

in a rough way, a prohibition on marriages within the generation. Each name denoted coevals; "the old ones," "the young ones," their names often mean (Cunow). In Australia the young and the old are marked out by degrees of initiation, by duties and services, and by taboos on certain sorts of food. These taboos in the wear and tear of the struggle of the young men and the old, also applied to marriage. The strong point of Herr Cunow's theory is that the names for the classes do, in many cases, mean "big" and "little," or "young" and "old," a point omitted by Dr. Durkheim in criticising the hypothesis. Dr. Durkheim prefers a theory of residence with the tribe of the female parent, shifting in each generation. Meanwhile, what is needed above everything is philological analysis of the names of the "phratries," "classes," and terms for relationships, supposed, I think erroneously, to denote a past of "group marriage." Without this analysis all our theories must be tentative and hazardous.

Meanwhile, by this time, the tribes perfectly understand, and can express, real relationships by blood, as understood among ourselves, and also, as a rule, object, as we do, to too near consanguineous marriages of "too near flesh." This is the result of training in the rules, and of reflection on them.

A. LANG.

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## COLLECTANEA.

### SOME NATIVE LEGENDS FROM CENTRAL AUSTRALIA.<sup>1</sup>

(Selected by Mary E. B. Howitt.)

The following legends are taken from a large collection made by the Rev. Otto Siebert, for a comprehensive work on the abori-

<sup>1</sup> [The special interest of these legends lies in the fact that "Mooramoor" was described by a previous witness, Mr. Gason (*The Dierie Tribe* in Mr. Curr's *The Australian Race*, ii., 44-107), as a single being, not as a race of beings. "Mooramoor" is a Good Spirit or Divine Being; and although they have no form of religious worship, they speak of the Mooramoor with great reverence." In a language which possesses no article, and, apparently, no verbal plural (see Curr, *The Australian Race*, i., 10, 11), it is obvious that a noun of multitude might easily be mistaken by a foreigner for a proper name. Mr. Gason's further statement, that the Dieri "have no form of religious worship," is hardly consistent with his description of the rain-making ceremony, part of which he says is designed to be seen by the Mooramoor, "and immediately he causes clouds to appear in the heavens." If none appear, "they say the Mooramoor is cross with them." Mr. Howitt, moreover (*J. A. I.*, xx., 92), quotes Mr. Gason for the following: "In the rare seasons which are too wet, the Dieri also have recourse to supplications to Mura Mura to restrain the rain, and Mr. Gason has seen the old men in a perfect state of frenzy, believing that their ceremonies had caused Mura-mura to send too much rain."

Otherwise the account of the Muramura by Mr. Gason (who was a police-trooper stationed many years in the district) agrees in the main with Mr. Siebert's ætiological myths. He gives Dieri legends crediting "the Mooramoor" (sing. no.) with the making of the sun, emus, mankind (who were first black lizards, made to walk erect with their tails cut off), the organisation into tribes and families, the marriage rules, the foundation of the various ceremonies, of the custom of knocking out teeth, &c. Some of the ceremonies are performed within a circle traced with sand, within which the Mooramoor "is" supposed to be present, but which keeps out an evil being called *Kootchie*, which Mr. Gason translates by *devil* ("the devil is called Kootchie"). Mr. Gason's evidence is cited and discussed in the *Golden Bough*, i., 72 n., 86, 87, and in *Magic and Religion*, pp. 50, 56, 57, 62, 63.—ED.]

gines of South-east Australia, which my father, Mr. A. W. Howitt, is now preparing for publication. Mr. Siebert is a missionary to the aborigines at Killalpanina, on the Cooper River, in Central Australia, and is a very zealous student of their laws and customs.

To any one familiar with the legends of other parts of Australia, with their half-animal, half-human actors, fabled ancestors of the modern race, these legends of the Dieri and kindred tribes will present some novel features, chiefly through the appearance of the Mura-muras.

These were beings of distinctly human form and actions, but always endowed with greater magical powers, and seemingly capable of more astounding feats, than the people of the present day. The perfecting of human beings out of shapeless creatures, the naming of the totems, and the institution of the sacred ceremonies are ascribed to them and duly recorded in certain of the legends.

The constant wandering of the Mura-muras is remarkable. They seem to have been possessed with the spirit of travel, and to have bestowed the present names on all natural objects, rocks, rivers, &c., that they came across. They are now not infrequently pointed out by the blacks as solitary rocks or petrified tree trunks, whose shape they took when their work was done—perpetual witnesses to the aboriginal mind of the absolute truth of the legends. This wandering spirit is so constant in the Mura-mura legends that one is tempted to believe it to be a faint crystallised recollection of the first great spreading of the native race over the continent.

The interesting legend of the dark and light-coloured children is illustrated, as Mr. Siebert says, by the present differences in colour between the tribes in that part of Australia. He tells us that in spite of the fusion of the tribes caused of late by the settlement of the country by the whites, the Wonkanguru and Wonkamala, northern neighbours of the Dieri, have a bluish-black tint of skin; while the Dieri themselves are reddish-brown, and the Tangara, who live on the western side of Lake Eyre, towards the West Australian boundary, are said by those of the Dieri who know them to be as light coloured as half-castes, and to be spoken of as *Kana maralye* or "light-coloured men."

In the legends of Warugatti, and of Woma and Kapiri, we are told of the origin of the emu, carpet-snake, and lizard, and their respective totems, while the legend of Pirinti is typical of the



purely animal legends of South-eastern Australia. Nganto-warrina, the old Mura-mura who was turned into the moon, has his counterpart in many other moon legends; and it may be noted that we always find that the moon was once a man in the opinion of the Australian aborigine, while the Jack-and-the-Beanstalk incident of the tree growing up to the sky through magic is also frequently encountered.

The tract of country occupied by the Dieri tribe is on the delta of the Cooper, on the east of Lake Eyre. The Wonkanguru and Yaurorka are their immediate neighbours on the north, and the Urabunna occupied a considerable tract on the west side of the lake.

#### I.—KUYIMOKUNA. A LEGEND OF THE DIERI.

A Mura-mura was once out by himself hunting in time of great drought, but could find no food. There was no game to be found, and as he sought for it in vain the Mura-mura Kuyimokuna, a clever boy, came to him and asked what he was looking for. "Kapiri and Woma," was the reply. "Follow me," said the boy, walking forward; and all at once he said "Dig there." The man dug deep into the earth and found a *woma* (carpet-snake), and in like manner the boy showed him other places where *woma* were hidden. Thus he helped the elder Mura-mura on several days, till the others of his people envied him when they saw him return laden with game each night; so they asked him where he had got it. He told them to come with him, and his boy would show them where to find *woma* and *kapiri* (iguana). This they did, and the boy led them hither and thither to dig.

While they were doing this the boy became thirsty and drank out of their water-bag, forgetting to shut it up again, so that the water ran out. The people were all very angry at this and agreed to kill the boy, and did so when his friend and guardian was not there. Now this man felt in his liver that something was wrong with the boy. He could not sleep all night, and in the morning he set about following their tracks, till he came to where his friend lay dead. He wept bitterly for his boy. Then he separated the flesh from the bones, divided these from each

other, and with them separately he killed all the people who had killed his friend.

This is how the Dieri got the custom of killing by "pointing the bone."

#### NOTES BY THE REV. OTTO SIEBERT.

The liver is regarded by these tribes as the seat of the affections. The Woma, or carpet-snake, is prized as an article of food. The reptiles hide in cracks in the sun-dried earth, from whence they are dug by the blacks. The Kapiri is the iguana, or lace-lizard.

A second "patron" of the boy Kuyimokuna was also associated in the "pointing of the bone" in some versions of the legend. Both avenged the death of the boy by "giving the bone" in common to the murderers of Kuyimokuna. For this reason it is almost always the case that two persons act together in "giving the bone;" one who points with it and also ties the end of the hair-cord which is fastened to it, tightly round his upper arm, in order that the blood may be driven through into the bone. The other person holds the end of another cord fastened to the bone, and goes through the same motions as he who is holding the bone. The bones of Kuyimokuna were divided into pieces and sent, as we would say, "to all points of the compass," carrying death wherever they came.

When all those who had taken part in the death of the boy Kuyimokuna had been done to death by his two champions, these two met the survivors of the people at a place called Nari-wolpu (*nari* is "death" in Dieri, and *wolpu*, "bone," in Wonkanguru). When the murder was discussed at this meeting the principal champion of Kuyimokuna took two small staves of wood in his hand, tied them fast together with a cord, and buried them in the earth. "See," said he, turning to one of the survivors after the other and addressing each in turn. "Thou mournest for thy *neji* (elder brother), thou for thy *ngaperi* (father), &c., and I for my *tidnara* (sister's son). We are all alike mourning for relations, let us now once more live in peace with each other and bury the whole affair." Out of this arose the custom called *Pinti madi ya nguru*, fast and unbreakable agreement—from *pinti*, agreement; *madi*, heavy, weighty; *ya*, and; *nguru*, strong.

#### II.—NGANTO-WARRINA WHO BECAME THE MOON.

Two young Mura-muras were annoyed with their father, the old Mura-mura Nganto-warrina, because he had gathered some nardoo



and given none to them. One day their father saw them busy making long hooks (*ngami*) to pull out grubs (*kuyikinka*) from their holes in the gum trees. They told him they knew of a tree full of *kuyikinkas*, and the old Mura-mura climbed up to get some. As he climbed his sons kept urging him to go on higher, and all the time the tree raised itself or grew up further from the ground by reason of their magic. Then they set it on fire, and, as the burning tree rose up carrying Nganto-warrina, the sons saw that their father was being roasted, and one of them threw up a skin by his boomerang so that the old man might shelter himself from the heat.

Nganto-warrina still hangs in the sky as the moon, and the Dieri say the dark mark on its face is the place where the old Mura-mura covered himself with the skin.

#### NOTES BY M. E. B. HOWITT.

*Ngami* are like long slender crochet-hooks made of wood, with which the blacks skilfully extract the grubs from their tunnel-like holes in the gum tree trunks.

*Nardoo* forms a staple article of food with these tribes, and has been well known to the whites since the unfortunate explorers Burke and Wills tried unsuccessfully to live on it, when Wills wrote in his diary that it was "not unpleasant starvation." Some of the seed actually collected by them, and afterwards found by Mr. A. W. Howitt's rescue party, is before me now. The so-called seeds are spore-cases of a species of *Marsilia*, a genus common to many parts of Australia. The "seeds" are oblong and flattened in shape, about an eighth of an inch in width and a quarter long, and chocolate-brown in colour.

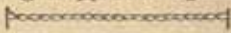
#### III.—WARUKATTI THE EMU. A TALE OF THE DIERI.

Two Mura-muras, who were husband and wife, once remarked that both had feathers on their bodies and that more were growing. They began to dance, and, as they did so, they went by accident into the fire, so that their legs were shrivelled up. The other Mura-muras noticed this, and said: "Go out from among us; you do not belong to us; you are Warukatti." And they drove them away to run about as emus.

## IV.—ORIGIN OF THE WOMA AND KAPIRI. A WONKANGURU LEGEND.

Naiyemirara, Kurkali, Bulu-bulu, Watylina, and other Mura-muras wanted to make some Womas. They consulted about the colours a Woma should be, but were not agreed about it, so Watylina went away, and the others drew long wavy lines on the ground and stuck sticks at the ends marked with the woma colours thus : —————|

But they had scarcely done it when a fierce wind obliterated the marks and blew away the sticks. Then they drew a long straight line so : |—————|

with Woma sticks at the ends, but as before a great wind came and swept away their work. The same thing happened again when they drew intersecting lines like this :  But all their trouble was in vain, for Watylina sent a wind each time to destroy their work.

At last they made a line so broad and so long that it made a great ridge, at each end of which they planted several Woma poles. While they were doing this the Mura-mura Mantandara came by and asked what they were all doing there. Instead of telling him they laughed at his ignorance, so that he turned away ashamed and went away with a grudge against them. To have his revenge he turned himself into a fire and burnt up the other Mura-muras with their camp. After he had burned the Woma Mura-muras he also burned the Kapiri Mura-muras, Kumari-Puntali and Taraburuna, who had also made lines and set up sticks with Kapiri colours at the ends.

Out of the ashes of the Woma and Kapiri Mura-muras came Womas and Kapiris, and after these had returned to the ground countless young Womas and Kapiris came to light.

## NOTES BY THE REV. O. SIEBERT.

*Naiyemirara* means "sluggard," from *naiyeni*, slow, and *mirara*, comrade or mate.

*Kurkali*, derived from *kurka*, a kind of kangaroo-rat (Dieri and Wonkanguru).

*Bulu-bulu*, the designation of young Womas (Dieri and Wonkanguru).

*Watylina*, to cook.



*Mantandara*, a bush, in Dieri *Wirra*, the leaves of which are dried in the ashes, and being rubbed up are mixed with the *pitcheri* for chewing.

*Kumari-puntali* means "blood-drinker," from *kumari*, blood, and *puntalato*, drink (Wonkanguru. In Dieri *Dapana*).

*Taraburuna* means "he with the leg," *i.e.* having something the matter with his *tara*, or thigh.<sup>1</sup>

Certain bands of alternating red and yellow earth which show on the surface in serpentine curves not far south of the Queensland boundary are said to be the markings which the Mura-muras made.

Notwithstanding the burning of these Mura-muras they are spoken of as rocks "near the great lake," which may be Lake Eyre.

#### V.—KADIWONKURU. A LEGEND OF THE YAURORKA.

The wife of an almost blind Mura-mura named Makatakaba, who lived at Wityigurawimpa, went with her two daughters to collect nardoo for food. The two girls played about while their mother worked busily; and when she had gathered a quantity she dug a hole in the ground, poured the seeds in, and stirring them up let the wind blow the husks away. To prevent the good seed from being blown away she built up a breakwind of boughs. Next morning the three went out again for seed. The mother was busy as before collecting it, and the children played about, when they suddenly saw a great fire, of which they told their father when they returned to camp. When he heard of it he stood up, and lifting a child to each of his shoulders, asked them to point out the direction in which they had seen the fire. He said to the elder, "Can you see the fire?" and she answered, "Yes, father, I can see it quite plainly."

Then the old Mura-mura opened his eyes, and he who had been quite blind until then could see the smoke of the fire lying on the horizon like a great rain-cloud. His wife made him some *paua* from the nardoo, which he ate, and then lay down to sleep.

In the early morning he took a fire-stick, threw his bag over his shoulder, got ready to start, and said to his children, "I have a long journey before me, but you must not trouble about that;"

<sup>1</sup> [See *supra.*, p. 88.—ED.]

and to his wife he said, "Take care of the children, so that no one may do them any harm." Then he stood up with his bag over his shoulder, a fire-stick on one arm and a small boomerang in his hand. With his first step he began to sing his *wapaia* and to travel singing into distant parts.

His *wapaia* song commenced thus: "*Dama-inda ngurpa, dama-inda ngurpalina*," which means "leaving those belonging to me, I am going forth into the far-away;" and as he travelled along he put all that he saw—birds, snakes, kangaroo tracks, trees, bushes, and whatever else he came across—into his song.

After travelling for a month he came to a great sandhill, from the top of which he saw a vast water. He went down the hill and waded into the water, seeing his own image reflected in it. He came back to land by a narrow passage which was being covered by the waters driven by a fierce wind. Then he climbed the highest hill near, and saw from it a great fire surrounding him. He sought to find out who had lighted the fire, but could see no traces of men, and thought it must have sprung up of itself. Even now, men say, this fire is always in that part, which is called the Wiluma country, and the people in it are the *Yero-wiraye*, or "fire-people."

Having gathered some hot coals from the fire, the Mura-mura went on his wanderings to the south, making his song, which is sung by the Urabunna.

While he was travelling thus, his wife and daughters were out one day gathering nardoo, and the mother was mending the *katu* or breakwind, to make it stronger before winnowing the seed, when one of her children came to her, and said, "See, mother, the great whirlwind coming up. Quick! make the *katu* strong, so that the wind cannot blow it away." So the mother used all her strength to make the *katu* fast, and when the whirlwind struck it they all three cowered behind it for shelter. But the wind blew stronger and stronger till at last it carried off the youngest girl. Then the other child was carried off, and finally the mother was lifted up by the furious blast.

Each night as the whirlwind swept along, carrying the woman and her two children, it rested, and wherever it did so a water hole was formed, not in a channel or hollow, but on the open dry tableland. Each morning it carried them further and further till it buried them at last in the distant northern sands.



The Mura-mura Makatakaba travelled all the time towards the south carrying the hot coals which he had got in the Wiluma country and in time reached the Macumba country, where he came to a camp of people who were rubbing up and eating *paua* from the seeds of one of the gum trees. He was hungry, and asked for some of the food; but they took no notice and laughed at him because he was nearly bald, with a long lock of hair hanging down behind, and had a small pointed beard. They also ordered him roughly away, and took no notice of his threats, when he said, "Do you think I have no *wolkadra* in my arm-pits?"

But they only shouted at him, "*Yidni kutchi, yidni worana.*" Which means, "Are you a Kutchi? are you a Worana?" And they took up spears to throw at him.

The Mura-mura went sadly away with his finger on his lip, thinking of revenge. He did not go far away, but took a couple of coals out of his bag and set fire to the grass, saying to the flames, "Spread with great quickness." He put out the fire with his hands and went near to the camp again. There he took out more coals and again set the grass on fire, and in a moment he was standing in the midst of the flames. The people in the camp tried to escape, but the quickly-spreading fire burnt them all up.

The old Mura-mura went on from camp to camp, but the people were all unfriendly to him and made fun of his bald head, so he avenged himself by burning them up.

NOTES BY THE REV. O. SIEBERT.

*Kadiwonkuru* comes from *kadiwaru*, lizard.

*Makatakaba* means "fire" in Wonkanguru. The Yaurorka name for this old Mura-mura was Kadiwonkuru, and the Dieri called him Kadiwaru (lizard) or "the Kadiwaru." The name Makatakaba was given to him later when he burned up the Wonkanguru and Ngarabana in their camps. It is only the latter part of the legend that is known to these two tribes, and is sung at their ceremonies.

*Wityguru-wimpa* from *wityguru*, a whirlwind, and *wimpa*, a track.

*Paua* is food made from the seed of various plants. It is collected, cleaned, and stored away in pits, which are closed by a cover made of rushes and smeared on each side with clay to hold them together. The *paua* when taken out of the pits is placed in

bags (*wonduru*) and either carried by the people or hung up in trees.

*Nardoo* is not ground, but pounded to a fine powder, and made into a kind of cake. When fish is plentiful, it is also stored up in the following manner. The fishes are first baked in the hot ashes, then the bones and insides being removed, they are laid on bushes on the ground to dry. When dry the skin is also removed, and the flesh is further dried till it is quite hard and can be pounded to powder and packed away in bags.

*Wapaia* is a song of travel which is sung at some of the sacred ceremonies by the tribes north of the Dieri and north of the Queensland boundary. The exact meaning of the opening phrase "*Dama-inda-ngurpa*" cannot be obtained, for the several informants are not even agreed as to the proper sound of the words, and give them different meanings. For instance the Yaurorka and Marunga sing the words, "*Lamaa Lamanda ngurpa*," &c., without knowing their meaning at all, as is often the case with far-travelled songs.

*Yidni kutchi*, *yidni worana*. *Yidni* is the vocative "thou," and *kutchi* a "debble-debble" that is believed to travel about in whirlwinds on mischief bent. *Worana* is a fabled creature, half man, half beast, living on an island in Lake Eyre.

*Wolkadra* is the same as the sacred *churinga* of the Arunta, and is carried concealed from all uninitiated persons in the armpit.

The "great water" reached by Makatakaba was probably the Gulf of Carpentaria.

#### VI.—PIRINTI AND KAPIRI. A LEGEND OF THE URABUNNA TRIBE.

Long ago Pirinti and Kapiri lived in great friendship at the north-west of Katitandra (Lake Eyre). At that time both had skins of the same colour, so they decided to paint each other.

First Pirinti had to paint Kapiri, which he did with a beautiful pattern. But when Kapiri had to paint Pirinti he thought to himself, "Why should I give myself the trouble to make such intricate markings, when Pirinti is so much bigger than I am. I will make larger patterns on him." He therefore painted Pirinti with some large and some small patterns, and when Pirinti turned his head and saw the unequal pattern that Kapiri had put on, he said to himself, "I painted him very nicely, why has he done me so unequally?"



Kapiri said to him, "Do not turn round like that, you will rub off the paint." And as he said this he secretly rubbed off part of the pattern and ran away. Pirinti ran after him in great anger, but Kapiri was too nimble to be caught, so Pirinti shouted out to him not to dare to come into his ravine again, but to stay where the *kulva* grows, and Kapiri replied that in that case Pirinti must keep to the rocks and holes in the hills. Since that time there have been no Kapiri north of Oodnadatta, while at the Cooper, where the *kulva* grows, there are no Pirinti.

NOTES BY M. E. B. HOWITT.

*Kapiri* and *Pirinti* are varieties of lizards.  
*Kulva* is a hakea.

VII.—MARKANYANKULA. A LEGEND OF THE WONKANGURU  
 AND URABUNNA.

The Mura-mura Markanyankula lived in Antyritya with his wife and many children. He used to gather nardoo and clean it by shaking it in his bowl, so that the refuse separated, then he packed it in kangaroo and 'possum-skin bags, put these in a larger bag, and started off on his wanderings, carrying the burden on his head.

The first place he came to was Arufolkandu on the Macumba River, where there was a level piece of ground. He loosened this ground and scattered the nardoo seed on it, so that when rain came it might grow and the people have plenty of food and not suffer any hunger. He also scattered nardoo in another place, and travelling on, came to Utyia, where he saw two decrepit old women, and said to them, "Look round about when the rain falls." When rain fell they went out as the Mura-mura Markanyankula had told them and looked about. They found the two places where he had scattered seed, where it had made the whole country green; the fruit was not ripe, but the women ate it and became healthy and strong. When the seed was ripe they gathered it into heaps and had plenty of food when the dry barren time came again.

After telling the old women what to do, the Mura-mura went to Pandi, where a great number of men were collected to sing

the Palpara song. He saw them a long way off, but was afraid to go near; so he rested a while, and went on to Kadlikua, where two old men sat at the edge of the water throwing in their nets. But still he travelled further, scattering good and bad nardoo seed as he went, and calling the places where he left the latter Nardoo-molku (bone nardoo).

At Kuyuna he stuck his spear into the ground, and it grew into a huge tree, and after he had wandered to Narimaia lake and the Pitchei country, he turned back and went to his own place and his own people.

#### NOTES BY THE REV. O. SIEBERT.

*Arufolkandu* means "making white or grey" from the quantity of dust there.

*Macumba* from "maka" fire, because the Mura-mura Makata-kaba there burned a large camp.

*Utyia* = a spring.

*Pandi* is to the north-west of Katitandra where the Macumba enters Lake Eyre. *Pandi* refers to a beast of legendary times, which was much feared.

*Kadla kupa*, a little creek or river, from the Wonkanguru *kadla* = creek or river bed, and *kupa* = child.

*Kuyuna*, the Diamantina River.

*Narimaia* is not a lake, but a wide creek bordered with trees, north of the Cattle Lagoon, and west-south-west from Birdville.

[*Pitcheri* is the *Duboisia Hopwoodi*, the leaves and twigs of which are dried and chewed. It is procured to the north of Lake Eyre.—M. E. B. HOWITT.]

#### VIII. NGATANI-MARU-MARU AND NGATANI-MARALYE. A LEGEND OF THE DIERI TRIBE.

At Ngatani-maru-maru once lived a woman who had several dark-skinned children, and at Ngatani-maralye lived a woman whose children were lighter in colour.

The Ngatani-maralye mother longed for the dark-skinned children of the Ngatani-maru-maru mother; and one day when the latter had gone out to gather nardoo, leaving her children in the camp that they might not hinder her in her work, the Ngatani-maralye came with her light-coloured children and took away the dark-coloured children, leaving her own behind.



The other mother, not knowing what had happened at the camp, came back about midday, carrying her nardoo in a half-filled bag on her hip. And on her way she met a *nila-nila* (mirage), and as it lifted her up from the ground she sang :

*Nilá-nílá kánka-kánkani*  
By the mirage lifted high  
*Nilá-nila mindráni ngani*  
In the mirage I  
*Tiká-tiká wapdia.*  
Back returning went.  
*Nardoo billi tampáyu rayelli*  
Nardoo-bag half filled  
*Ngani-mundá markána*  
I myself striking down  
*Tikána márkála wapdia*  
Returning to carry went.

Coming nearer to her camp she looked longingly for her children in the place where they should be, and sang :

*Milki milki nakalu.*  
The eye the eye only there.

Then she saw children playing about the camp, but not hers ; they were strange ones with light skins ; and putting down her bag among them she sang :

*Wora wora wolpana* *wora wora farabana.*  
To-the-right-and-left tumbling-over, to-the-right-and-left lying-down.

Longing for her children she hastened round the camp searching in widening circles impatiently for their footprints, and driving herself onwards with her song :

*Tidna kalya-kalyara ngatanina worana*  
Foot quick to the children  
*ngato wodakari ngankana kurana worai*  
I where doing left off.

Finding at last that her children had been carried off by the Ngatani-maralye mother, she sang complainingly :

*Ngani pirupirungan mindrina para-paritála waapaia*  
I complaining hastening cross over to, went.

Lamenting thus, she crossed over a great plain to the home of the Ngatani maralye, who seeing her a great way off ran to meet her and gave up the dark-skinned children to her, taking back her own.

The Ngantani-maru-maru mother went back to her camp with her little ones; and next day left them as before in the camp while she went out to gather nardoo. But at midday she came back to find again the light-coloured children of the Ngatani-maralye mother in place of her own. Finding their tracks she followed them lamenting and brought them home. This happened every day till she set out on her wanderings. She sang as she went, but from lamenting much her voice had become so weak that she had to strain her throat to sing at all.

She wandered for some distance, when leaving her children she went on alone to Pando (Lake Hope), which was dry and white, and as she crossed it she sang:

*Tidna pinta-pintarala kau ngani daka-dakala wapaia*  
Foot on the salty expanse yes I to hard earth go.

Further and further she wandered, till coming to Bau-ung-bau-ung and Tyindi-tyindinani, when she sang:

*Tyindi-tyindinani kau ngani daka-dakala wapaia.*  
To Tyindi-tyindinani yes I to hard earth go

Then she looked for hard clay soil, and when she had found it she sank underground singing:

*Mitanina ngato mira kalkana ngarila wapaia*  
Earth I clay seeking under go  
*Ngadali ngarina palkala wapaia*  
Backwards down go  
*Daka palkipalkana kau 'ni ngarina palkala wapaia*  
Hard earth splitting yes I down go  
*Pandara paru-parumana kau 'ni palkala wapaia*  
After me drawing yes I go  
*Kumari vuilparu kau 'ni ngarina palkala wapaia*  
Blood in streaks yes I down go  
*Mita katifarila ngani takana palkala wapaia.*  
Earth depth I back again go

Finding a gaping cleft in the ground, she let herself slip into it and came to soil filled with *daka*, which she broke up; hurting



herself so that her tracks were marked with streaks of blood. Deep underground she pursued her way, only twice raising her head above the ground, until she reached her camp at Ngatani maru-maru. But here she only got out of the ground as far as the top of her head, for her hair is still to be seen as *dickeri* (cane-grass) standing in a great depression at Ngatani maru-maru.

NOTES BY THE REV. O. SIEBERT.

*Ngatani maru-maru* is black child; *Ngatani* being the relationship of a child to its mother, while *Ngatamura* is the relationship to the father. *Maru* is black or of a dark shade.

*Ngatani-maralye* is light-coloured child; *Maralye* being light-coloured or reddish.

*Kankana* is to go up in the air, to mount up, also to strut.

*Ngani* is the intransitive "I," while *Ngato* is the transitive pronoun, thus *Ngani Dieri kupa* is "I am a Dieri boy," while *ngato nandrana* is "I will strike."

*Tikala wapaia* is the present tense of *tikai*, to return, or rather "to go to return"; *wapaia* is the imperfect of *ngani wapai*, I go.

*Wora wora wolpana*, &c. = to right and left, tumbling over unexpectedly.

*Wora-wora paribana* = to make to lie down, to the right and left. *Wora* is "side," and *Wora wora*, "on both sides," "right and left."

*Tyindi tyindina* and the *Bau-ung Bau-ung* districts are both south-east from Innaminka on Cooper's Creek. The first is named from shining (*tyindi-tyindina*) stones, and the latter from the trembling of the ground (*bau-ung bau-ung-ingana*).

*Palkana* is rather "to wander," while *wapana* is our usual word "to go"; the form *wapaia*, the imperfect of *wapana*, is used for "I went to wander." *Daka dakala wapaia* properly means "I went to cut through," or more precisely "to pierce the land." *Ngarila wapaia* is "I set forth to go below."

*'ni* is an abbreviation of *Ngani*, "I."

*Mitani* is the dative of *Mita*, the ground, earth.

*Karku* or red ochre is thought by these aborigines to be the blood of the Mura-muras; hence they often say they have smeared themselves with blood when painted with red ochre.

The two places where the Ngatani Maru-maru mother raised her hands above ground are marked by large rocks.

M. E. B. HOWITT.

## FOLKLORE IN THE KENNET VALLEY.

*(Read at Meeting of 20th June, 1902.)*

THE district of which I am about to speak lies in the Kennet Valley; extending a few miles to the north of it, and towards Hampshire a few miles to the south. There are hardly any large villages; the inhabitants live to a great extent in scattered houses, single and solitary ones occasionally, but more generally they are built in groups of two or three. You come upon them in all sorts of unexpected places; dotted about upon the commons, amongst the fir-woods, up and down the valleys, and upon the hills. The cottages are built in every imaginable way, and of a great variety of materials. There are wood and plaster cottages, brick ones with thatched roofs, and brick ones with tiled roofs.

An old couple named Matthews, from whom I have gained a good deal of information, live at a place called Paradise. In the summer it may well deserve its name; but in the winter, when it can only be reached by going down a lane which is ankle-deep in mud, or across some fields where there is no real footpath, it is a poor sort of Paradise. The house, which was originally a farmhouse, is built in the most odd and irregular manner, and is now divided up into three or four small cottages. The end of the house, which is old Matthews' cottage, has a gabled roof, and is three stories high, an unusual thing in this part of Berkshire. The rest of the house is built in two stories, and part of it is thatched. The farm was once surrounded by outbuildings, which fell into decay, and have been removed.

Mrs. Matthews' relations lived in the same cottage in which she and her husband now live before she was born. The last farmer who had the farm committed suicide by cutting his throat in the room in which the Matthews now sleep, but though they have spoken to me about a stain on the boards, they have no superstition about the matter. They have many others though, and when once you have won their confidence are quite ready to be communicative. The old man will tell you several stories of the Ananias and Sapphira type, of sudden retribution. These are some of them.



Two girls were walking together one night. One of them counted the stars, and was struck dead instantly. The other, who did not count them, got home safely.

Two men were going through a field of wheat in spring. One said to the other, "This is a fine field of wheat." The other said, "Yes, if God Almighty ull let it bide." And in the harvest time the field of wheat was still standing in the same state as on that day in spring.

A man was throwing ashes in a field when some of them were blown into his eyes. He cursed with anger, and was struck dead instantly. They could not move him from the spot, even with horses, so he had to be bricked over where he lay.

A man called Hawkins used to say that there was no Heaven, or Hell, or Devil, but that only your conscience made them. When he was dying he changed his mind, and kept on crying out that his room was full of devils. He could not die until they had fetched a sheepskin and wrapped him in it.

A girl was combing her hair one day and it was tangled. She cursed the hair, and Him that made it, and she was struck dead instantly. When they went to bury her the coffin seemed extraordinarily light. They opened it to see the reason, and found it was full of smoke.

Old Matthews has done every kind of work in his day, every kind of agricultural work that is to say. He talks proudly of his sowing capacities. "They don't know how to sow nowadays," he says, "certainly not with small grain; the larger is easier to manage." He could sow a field of ten acres with a gallon of "turmut" seed, and this by the initiated appears to have been considered a tremendous feat. He has only had a fortnight's schooling all his life, but he has a natural shrewdness and intelligence which has been brightened perhaps by travel, for when he was younger he would go to London occasionally to stay with a married daughter. He has been to the National Gallery, his son-in-law being one of the officials of the place. "There wur some pictures there," was his comment upon the subject. One of the experiences of his life is an unusual and particularly interesting one. When he was a very small child he was an inhabitant of the Fleet Prison. He cannot remember it himself, but has heard all about it from his father, and will give you some interesting details. The father, who was really a Berkshire man,

had settled at Romney, and taken to smuggling. His smuggled goods were seized and he was made debtor to the King for a large amount, and as he was unable to pay, he and his whole family were lodged in the Fleet. When they came out they returned to their native place, Berkshire.

Old Matthews and his wife are great herbalists, and send numerous medicinal herbs to their daughter in London, who disposes of them to a herb-doctor. They have implicit faith in their concoctions, some of which are: tansy-tea for rheumatism, marsh mallow poultices for wounds, and white lily root ointment for gatherings. But the two herbs by which they set most store are wood-sage and horehound, which seem capable of curing almost anything indiscriminately. When they were asked to tell of cures for warts, they shook their heads; they had never heard of them—that was impossible. Warts were described. "Oh, werts." Of course they knew of cures for "werts." Cutting slits in a stick of elder, or making holes according to the number of warts in walnut leaves, and burying them secretly or putting them down a well. When the leaves had decayed the warts disappeared. The steam from the inside of an oven is also declared to be a cure.

For a good many years of his life Matthews was a shepherd, and he tells many amusing stories of sheep-stealing. For a long time a ghostly procession was seen in his part of the country, and the inhabitants were continually scared by it. One night a man said he "did not care for ghosteses," and he was determined to investigate the matter. Taking a huge bludgeon he lay in wait for the procession. When it appeared he rushed into the middle of it, flourishing his bludgeon on all sides. The bearers of the bier fled, leaving the corpse in the road. It proved to be the corpse of a sheep. The bearers were sheep-stealers.

A friend of old Matthews in his shepherding days had seen a "corpse," by which seems to be meant a ghost. The man's dog had gone through a hedge, and was making a noise, as he thought chasing a rabbit. He leaned over the hedge to see, "and there sure enuf wur the corpse."

Matthews was coming home from work late one night, when he heard a cart or carriage coming behind him. It had come so close to him that he heard the gravel scrunching under the wheels; but he could see nothing.



In a little village about six miles from the Matthewsese, old Mrs. Collins lives in the almshouse. She has a great many stories to tell. Her parents died when she was a child, and she was brought up by an aunt. She used to work in the fields for fourpence a day, and often knew what it was to go dinnerless. Nearly all the stories she has to tell she heard from her aunt, who would now, she says, were she still alive, be 130 years old.

The three following riddles come from this source. The first, as will easily be perceived, refers to the Gospel story.

H. and P.P. so well did agree  
To blot out the name of C.  
But they could not do it without the help of G.  
M. was amazed and grieved to see  
Envy and malice in H. and P.P.

Two died as never was born (Adam and Eve).  
Two born as never died (Enoch and Elijah).  
Two spoke as never lied (Christ and Balaam's Ass).

I saw six birds all in a cage,  
Each of them had one single wing  
That they could fly and sweetly sing.  
Their age did not abate their strength,  
Their tails were thirty foot in length.  
(Bells in the Tower).

Mrs. Collins also told me the following story, which accounts for Ophelia's saying "They say the owl was a baker's daughter." It was this. Our Lord went to a baker's shop to ask for something to eat, and the woman there began making Him a cake. But each time she put a handful of flour into the pan, she took some out saying, "Oo-ooh, that's too much," "Oo-ooh, that's too much." And He said to her

"Owl thou art and owl thou shalt be,  
And all the birds of earth shall peck at thee."

"And if you come to look at the owl," said Mrs. Collins, "it has more the face of a Christian than a bird." A variant of this story, also told in Berkshire, is that the woman was turned into an owl, and condemned always to be poor, and get her food at night.

Mrs. Collins also told me a legend of the mole—that it was once a fine lady, so fine that the earth was not good enough for her to walk upon, so she was made to walk underground—as punishment for her pride, one concludes.

The old woman remembers when murders were very common in the country. She told me a story of one murder when both the suspected murderer and the corpse (or rather the bones, for the murder was not discovered for a long time) were taken up into the church tower. The idea was that when the murderer touched the corpse it would bleed, but "the bones were too dry" in this case, was Mrs. Collins's comment.

Another old woman from whom I have gleaned a good deal is Mrs. Hayward. She lives in a cluster of cottages hidden away in a corner of the common and surrounded by fir-trees. She is eighty-two, but one day she became so interested and excited in talking about old times that she sang me two songs she used to sing in the hayfield when she was a girl of fourteen.<sup>1</sup>

She also told me of a divination which she and other girls used to practise in the hayfield. A turf, a bowl of water, and a bough were placed upon the ground, and the girls crawled blindfolded to touch one of them. Touching the turf signified death, the bowl of water a christening, and the bough widowhood. Other divinations she had practised were as follows. Two of the pink flowers called "midsummer men and maidens" were stuck into a crack in the wall, and the coming together or moving apart of them signified the truth or falseness of the lover. Hempseed was sown on Midsummer Eve in the churchyard with the words, "Here I sow hempseed, Here it shall grow, If my love loves me, He will come and mow."

Mrs. Hayward further showed me the way to find out a thief with a key, the Bible, and the words from Ruth iv. 4: "And I thought to advertise thee, saying, Buy it before the inhabitants, and before the elders of my people. If thou wilt redeem it, redeem it, but if thou wilt not redeem it, then tell me that I may know; for there is none to redeem it beside thee, and I am after thee. And he said, I will redeem it." The same test was used for "courtship," using instead the words from the Song of

<sup>1</sup> I am sorry to say I have not succeeded in securing them.



Solomon, viii. 6, 7.<sup>1</sup> This has been done up to quite a recent date.

When her husband was dying, Mrs. Hayward told me, she heard three distinct knocks at the bed's head; and once when a relation of hers had died she had seen her "shade," which is a word for ghost, or spirit. She was making the bed, and something which she thought was the cat came into the room. She went to chase it away, and then she saw that it was the shade of a woman. It went downstairs and disappeared. At that moment the relation had died.

This story led me to ask for other signs of death. The following were given. A sower in sowing missing a "land" of wheat. An apple-tree in bloom out of season. "If a corpse lies over Sunday there's sure to be another before the month's out."

Mrs. Hayward was the authority for the following legends and sayings:

A dark Michaelmas and a light Christmas.

A wet Good Friday and Easter Day, a lot of good grass, and a little good hay.

Wash on Ash Wednesday, and you wash someone out of the family.

Blessed is the woman who bakes on Good Friday, and five Fridays afterwards, but cursed is the woman who washes on Good Friday and five Fridays afterwards. The reason given for this is: When our Lord was going to be crucified He went to a woman's house to ask for succour. She was washing, and threw soap-suds at Him; then He went to another woman's house, she was baking, and gave Him a cake. He cursed in the one case, and blessed in the other.<sup>2</sup>

Set a bucket of yeast on Good Friday and you will see a cross "athert" it, just as upon hot-cross-buns. A loaf baked upon Good Friday will never go "ropey" or mouldy, and when it is grated up, it is good for the whooping cough.

Not far from Mrs. Hayward's cottage there is a beautiful spot,

<sup>1</sup> "Set me as a seal upon thine heart, as a seal upon thine arm: for love is strong as death; jealousy is cruel as the grave: the coals thereof are coals of fire, which hath a most vehement flame. Many waters cannot quench love, neither can the floods drown it: if a man would give all the substance of his house for love, it would utterly be contemned."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 175, and Henderson, p. 82.

where you stand upon a rising ground with the common at your feet, sinking into a valley, and then rising up in irregular ground upon the other side. Against the sky line as far as you can see lie range upon range of distant hills, and behind, dim and mysterious, are the fir-woods. A long row of cottages is built just beneath the brow of the hill upon which you are standing, their chimneys are nearly on a level with your feet. These cottages have been built in some cases by the inhabitants themselves, but generally by their fathers and grandfathers. In one of them lives an old woman who is the possessor of samplers and all kinds of delightful things, with which however, be it remarked, she has no intention of parting. She belongs to a rather superior family, and the cottage she lives in was built by her husband about sixty years ago. Amongst her treasures she has two old broadsides, which she calls "Saviour's Letters." They are the well known apocryphal Letter of Agbarus of Edessa, and they were used by her mother and grandmother as charms against illness, and were pinned inside their dresses to ensure safety in childbirth. I have heard of instances of these particular broadsides being used as charms in other cottages in South Berkshire, but this is the only case in which I have found them still in existence. Even the oldest inhabitants can generally only remember their parents or grandparents having them. The old woman in question keeps hers carefully in the family Bible.

I have collected the following witch-stories in South Berks.

Two men, a carter and a thatcher, lodged together, ate together, and slept in the same bed. One day the thatcher said to the carter: "I wonder why it is you look so bad, and so different to me, when we eat and live the same." The carter said: "You would look bad too if you were rode about every night as I am." A witch used to come every night, and ride him like a horse, "ride him about fearful." The thatcher was a "girt powerful man," and he said he would change places with the carter and sleep his side of the bed. At night the witch came as usual to that side of the bed, and put a bridle in the thatcher's mouth, and rode upon him. Then she took him to the stable, and a lot of others came to put up their horses. The thatcher was so strong he broke the enchanted bridle, and hid under the manger. When the witch came in to fetch him, he got out and put the bridle upon her instead and rode her off to a blacksmith's. He said to



the blacksmith: "I want a shoe put on my horse's fore-foot." Then he rode her out and left her. The next day the thatcher went to his work, and his master came out looking "very solitary." The thatcher asked him what was the matter. He said his wife was ill and could not get up. "Make her get up," said the thatcher. The master said he could not. "Then make her put her right hand out of bed," said the thatcher. The master said he could not. "Force her to do it," said the thatcher; and at last the husband did so, and there was a great iron horseshoe upon her hand. The husband said "he thought he was married to an honest woman, but he found he was married to the Devil," so he had her put out of the way—"stifled or something."

Old Mrs. Hayward's mother, when she was a girl of fourteen, was living in service in Berkshire. An old woman who was a reputed witch used to come to the house to fetch milk. One day the cook said to the girl: "I should like to know for certain if she is a witch. When she comes in the morning you get two old scrubs (or brooms), and lay them crosswise upon the doorstep. If she is a witch she will jump over them, if she is not she will just step over them." The girl did as she was told, and in the morning the old woman *jumped* over the brooms. Apparently she realised that a trap had been laid for her, and was very angry, for from that moment the girl was bewitched. Next day her copper pan ran out when she put the milk into it upon the fire. She sent it to Newbury to be mended, but the same thing happened three times; in fact she became so unlucky in every way that at last she had to leave her situation.

Mrs. Hayward's husband was one day going through a ford with a load of straw. In the middle of the water the straw all fell out of the wagon. He picked it up, and the same thing happened again. He saw a cat in front of him, and slashed at it with his whip. Then he saw the witch, who said to him "You've had trouble with your straw, carter." "Yes," he said, "and its you that's done it." But as he had drawn blood from her she was never able to do anyone harm again.

A woman of sixty told me that when she was a girl in service her mistress used to tell her that if she saw a large hare in the lane she was not to be afraid, it was only old Mrs. Parsons. This Mrs. Parsons, who was a witch, had a daughter who lived three miles away from her, and the daughter would go outside her house

and call "Mud!" (an abbreviation of mother) below her breath, and the mother would be with her in a quarter of an hour.

One night a man was out walking accompanied by his dog, and he saw a witch called Maria Chandler in the road. The dog went at her, and she turned into a hare. The dog followed the hare, and bit and tore it. The next morning Maria Chandler was found to be all bitten and torn as by a dog. This same witch was said to have bewitched a young man. He was always weak and ailing, and never could succeed in anything. When she died everything was changed. He became well and strong, and able to do anything he wished.

One day a witch called Mrs. Coventry wished to go to Reading to sell some nuts at the market. She asked a carter who was going there with his wagon and horses to wait for her at the top of the road, and take her there. When the carter got to the top of the road, she was not there, and having no desire for her company he whipped up his horses to go on without her. But all the whipping and coaxing in the world made no difference; the horses could not move. Presently the old woman appeared upon the scenes with her basket of nuts. "So you've waited for me, carter," she said. "Put me up in the cart and the horses will go on." So "he could not get shot of her," said the teller of the story, and directly she was in the wagon the horses went on.

One witch is told of who used often to be seen dancing at night upon a certain piece of grass called the green. This one was very clever in illness and had the power of "whispering bushes" out of people's hands. (A "bush" is the name for a thorn.) She would whisper some words out of the Bible backwards, moving her finger over the place where the bush had entered, tell the patient to go home and do certain things—put on a poultice sometimes—and the "bush" always came out, but not always at the place where it went in.

One day a witch went to a cottage and asked a poor woman to give her some bread. The woman refused at first; she had not much in the house, and she wanted it for her children. After some haggling, however, the witch obtained what she wanted, and then she rewarded the hospitality with the most base ingratitude. It seems that whether she had been given the bread or not it would have made no difference to the fate of the inmates of the cottage. They would have been equally unlucky in either case.



From that day one of the boys was taken with fits; such terrible ones that he had to be strapped into bed. He got better eventually, but not for a long time.

The belief in witches is constantly justified by reference to the story of the Witch of Endor. "We knows as there was such things because we reads of 'em in the Bible"; and though they generally say "there are no such things nowadays," you feel at the same time that they are not quite so certain of it as they make out. They are not very fond of talking about witches. One old woman remarked that she would sooner talk of something else than "them nasty ole black-witches." With curious chronological confusion another old woman said that she thought "our Saviour did away with all them things." Another curious instance of chronological ignorance, coming from a woman of really unusual natural intelligence was this. She had some coins which she had dug up in a field and wished to sell. One of them she had been told was a Queen Anne farthing. "That is very old," she said: "before the flood."

One old woman told me that her mother when she was a girl had been instructed by a gipsy how to gain the power to injure people. The recipe was this: "When you go to the Sacrament do not eat the bread, but carry it away in your hand. Go into the churchyard and walk round it three times saying the Belief and the Lord's Prayer backwards. Then you will see a great black toad, which is old Satan. Give it the bread to eat, and after that you can do anything you wish to people."<sup>1</sup>

A story is told in South Berks of two witches being buried "quick." One, it is said, lived a day longer than the other, because a man in passing threw her the core of an apple to eat. This story is told by people in different villages, and the same spot for the occurrence is always named. It is said that the holes can still be seen, and that nothing will grow over them. I have not been to the place, so cannot vouch personally for the truth of the statement.

At Cottington Hill, one of the highest in the neighbourhood, in Kingsclere, just over the border of Berkshire, it is said that there were at one time at that place alone enough witches and wizards to draw a ton load up it.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Folk-Lore*, xii., 168.

Witches, the Berkshire people say, could go through keyholes and all manner of unlikely places. They would drag people in the night through prickly hedges, and in the morning they were covered with scratches. They were particularly fond of taking the form of hares. People would shoot at them with guns filled with peas, and then they did not come again.

When men possessed the powers of witches, people speak of them as being able to "lay spells." Old Mrs. Collins's aunt, before mentioned, remembered a man named Cowdrey who lived at a certain farm and was able to "lay spells." A man went into Cowdrey's field one night to steal some turnips; when he had filled his basket and wished to go out of the field, he could not, for there was water all round it. Wherever he tried to go there was water, so he had to stay there all night, and in the morning Cowdrey came and found him. Another man had stolen a "slab" or block of wood belonging to Cowdrey, and instead of taking it to his own cottage, as he intended, he found himself with his stolen property in Cowdrey's house.

Another man living in another farmhouse in the same village was also able to "lay spells." A carter lost a pony and went to ask this man where it was. He told him there was going to be a storm, and that he had better get home, and that when he got home he would find the pony, but that it would not be advisable for him to keep it. The carter remarked that it looked very unlike rain; however, he set off homewards, and before he got there a terrific storm broke over him, and the pony came down in the rain just in front of him. He took it home, but was not able to keep it. The man who had worked these wonders said upon his death-bed "a great many things have been done by scholarship, but as for me I have had dealings with the Devil."

The following is a ghost-story that was told me. A man was sitting upon a stile in a certain lane lighting his pipe with a tinder box. A beautiful horse with a lady upon it came along. The horse seemed frightened at the flash of the tinder-box, so the man offered to lead it past. He laid his hand upon the bridle, but his hand went through the horse, which, however, followed him the whole way home.

The country of which I have been speaking is some distance from the White Horse, and that part of Berks which has been made so well known by Tom Hughes, and its character is quite



different. I know nothing of the folklore of that part of the country so cannot speak from personal experience of any similarity between it and the few gleanings which I have noted in this paper.

L. SALMON.

P.S.—An old woman lately told me the following. Ghosts used to be laid in the sheepfolds, because the sheep are such “innercent cratur.” Thirteen ministers used to stand round and read something out of the Bible, six reading forwards and seven backwards, until the ghost was conquered.

#### HOLIDAY GLEANINGS: I. CORNWALL.

WHEN staying last August at the little village of Looe, Cornwall, I asked an old Cornish woman to go with me through the woods to visit a friend of mine. It was in the evening. She at once replied, “It is the twenty-first of the month. I daren’t go through the woods.” “Why not?” I asked. “*Things is said*. I should hear all my future and my friends’ futures whispered in the trees; indeed I daren’t, Miss!” A Cornish maidservant afterwards told me the same thing, also using the expression, “*Things is said*”; but she did not add the explanation about hearing the future described.

MARGARET E. HALL.

Northaw Place, 19th November, 1902.

[This Cornish belief is not mentioned either by Hunt or by Miss Courtney.—ED.]

#### II. SHROPSHIRE.

I was on the Wrekin one day last August with my children and a niece with fair hair and a very fair complexion. About half way up the hill is a “cocoanut shy” presided over by an elderly woman whose principal occupation, I learnt, was drawing (*i.e.* hawking) coal at Wellington, about two miles distant. As we descended the hill she had just set up her cocoanuts for the day; and the children being anxious for a shy, I suggested that my niece should have first turn. The suggestion, however, did not

meet with the woman's approval. "No, you take first turn, sir," she said, "and bring me luck." I inquired whether she thought a man would bring more luck than a woman. "Yes, I do, sir," she replied; "but it must be some one dark." Accordingly, to oblige her I had the first shy, at which she was much pleased. "There's some folks," she said, "as don't believe it makes any difference whether the first that shies is dark or fair. But I do. I have taken notice of it, and there's a deal in it." She herself, she added, was a very lucky person. "There's a many" (small itinerant vendors, she meant) "likes to have a halfpenny or a penny off me first thing in the morning, because I bring 'em luck." On leaving I paid her a shilling, which she promptly spat on for luck before putting it into her pocket. It was the first money she had taken that day.

F. A. MILNE.

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#### HOW TO ANNUL "BLOOD-BROTHERHOOD."

The following extract from the official despatches of the Lango Expedition of 1901 against a band of Soudanese mutineers and their Lango allies in the Nile Province of Uganda, published in the *Gazette* of 12th Sept. 1902, is here quoted from the *Morning Post* of Sept. 13th.

"The mutineers [who] had established themselves in the country of the Chief Obokhe (now a prisoner), made friends with such of the Lango clans as surrounded them most nearly, and in most cases made 'blood-brotherhood' with them. . . . When some of the Chiefs subsequently said they wished to help us but dared not, owing to this 'blood-brotherhood,' a sufficiently ridiculous ceremony had to be gone through to free their consciences. Dr. Bagshawe, with due formalities, injected a dose of apomorphia into the cicatrix of the incision made in the 'blood-brotherhood' rites. This made the patient violently sick in about five minutes. A few nauseous draughts afterwards completed the operation, and the subject's satisfaction in the breaking of the spell."

CHARLOTTE S. BURNE.



## CORRESPONDENCE.

### EGGS IN WITCHCRAFT.

THE following extract from the Parish Register of Wells, in Norfolk, for the year 1583, was contributed to *The Gentleman's Magazine* for 1792, Part II., p. 904, by a correspondent who used the signature J. H. I, however, quote from Mr. Gomme's reprint in *The Gentleman's Magazine Library—English Topography*, Part VIII., p. 113. I am quite ignorant of the way in which these eggs were treated. Can any student of folklore enlighten me? It would seem that the crime was regarded as proved. Has any record of the trial come down to our time from which we might gather what was the nature of the evidence which satisfied the jury?

"Misled uppo' ye West Coaste coming from Spain; whose deaths were brought to pas by the detestable woorking of an execrable witch of Kings Lynn, whose name was Mother Gabley; by boyling, or rather labouring of certeyne eggs in a payle full of colde water; afterwards approved sufficiently at the arraignment of the said witch.

Richard Waller.  
Christopher Dodde.  
John Bunting.  
William Craven.  
Gregory Baxter.  
Christopher Baxter.  
Thomas Ayre.

Single Men.

Henry Gouldsmith.  
Walter Marshall.  
Robert Butler.  
Oliver Cobh.  
William Barret.  
Richard Dye."

EDWARD PEACOCK, F.S.A.

[The extract from the Wells Parish Register which Mr. Peacock quotes is also given in *Gentleman's Magazine Library (Popular Superstitions)*, p. 235. The rite was evidently one of sympathetic magic, raising a storm at sea by simulating one in a pail. Eggshells are referred to as witches' boats in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Women Pleased*, quoted in Ellis's *Brand*, i., 19, and in *Choice Notes from N. and Q. (Folklore)*, p. 7, locality Holland.—Ed.]

## BUTTERFLY CHARM.

Mr. Charles Rhodes Hirst, aged 23, formerly a clerk in my office, and now in the Town Clerk's office in Sheffield, tells me that when boys at Walkley near that city go in search of butterflies they sing the following words to the following air, which he has written out for me himself:—



Mr. Hirst says that he is very familiar both with the words and the air, having heard them often during the last ten years. He says that when a butterfly appears the boys cease to sing, pull their coats off, and, taking hold of them by one sleeve, try to throw them over the butterfly and catch it.

In some parts of Europe, as well as in Eastern Asia, the butterfly is regarded as a human soul which has escaped from the body (Frazer, *Golden Bough*, i., 259, 264; Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, English translation, ii., 829, where reference is made to the Greek *ψυχή*). Can it be that this traditional formula, usually addressed to the ladybird, but here to the butterfly, once had for its object the recall of a wandering soul by rehearsing the misfortunes which required the owner's presence at home?

It may be observed that the words "butter-fly," "lady-bird," and "lady-cow," have not yet been explained.

S. O. ADDY.



## REVIEWS.

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SIR WALTER SCOTT'S MINSTRELSY OF THE SCOTTISH BORDER.  
Edited by T. F. HENDERSON. 4 vols., 8vo. Wm. Black-  
wood and Sons, 1902. Price £2 2s. net.

THESE four handsome volumes are a worthy presentation of a work which has long since become a classic without losing a whit of its freshness or charm. In size and type they pleasantly recall the familiar originals, while they are enriched with a number of useful and business-like notes and with a very pleasing photogravure from the portrait of Sir Walter by Sir William Allan. All criticisms notwithstanding, this is an edition which any book-lover may be proud to possess.

Mr. Henderson is evidently a thoroughly competent local antiquary, and has completed, elucidated, and occasionally corrected, Scott's historical notes with the most conscientious care and pains, and in a very satisfactory manner. He has also examined all the still-existing MS. and other copies of the ballads from which Scott worked, and he gives the *variorum* readings in footnotes, showing clearly which portions of the published ballads are due to Scott himself, and which to his authorities. (Scott's method was to collate the several variants, choosing the best lines and stanzas of each, but not scrupling to add lines and even stanzas when his authorities did not satisfy him.)

All this part of Mr. Henderson's work is excellent. We say this the more emphatically, as we have some serious criticisms to make in other respects. He approaches the ballads themselves rather from the standpoint of the local historian or the biographer than from that of the lover of poetry, of romance, or of folklore. "The most valuable and original part of Scott's undertaking," he says, "was the preservation and annotation of ballads specially connected with the Border"; and his own interest in the work lies chiefly in tracing the part played by these legendary and antiquarian studies in giving its special distinction to the genius of

"the Author of *Waverley*"; a point on which he makes some very good observations (pp. xiv., xv.). But the effect of this standpoint is that his treatment of the "Romantic Ballads" is far from satisfactory. He is haunted by chronic doubts of their genuineness, and by continual anxiety to prove their modernity, or, at least, their literary origin. So nervously suspicious is he that he omits the music (given in Lockhart's edition) altogether, "as there is no little dubiety as to the genuine antiquity of ballad *airs*" (p. xxxix.), ignorant apparently that a scientific musician can date and describe a tune as accurately as a palæographer dates a manuscript. If a ballad is ill-rhymed, prosaic, or vulgar, he decides that it is the composition of the peasant-reciter himself; if it shows poetic feeling, it is due to the collector—Leyden, Sharpe, Hogg, or Laidlaw—who recorded it; regardless of the difference in style between the ballads in question and the original works of these versifiers of Scott's day. Poetic fire, apparently, is for him a gift bestowed only on the literary and the cultured. No peasant-bred poet, no "mute inglorious Milton," enters into his calculations: a strange exclusiveness in the fellow-countryman of the Ayrshire Ploughman, or even the Ettrick Shepherd. To those who believe that folk-song springs from the folk he attributes the idea, long ago ridiculed by Mr. Joseph Jacobs, that "the collective folk assembled in folk-moot, simultaneously shouted" songs and proverbs by a common inspiration (*Folk-Lore*, iv., 234); and we fear it would be vain to try and convince him that he is fighting against windmills.

If forgery cannot be suspected, the poor ballad (if it have no historical basis), is belittled in some other way. *Brown Adam* is "not of much account." *The Wife of Usher's Well* has "nothing remarkable in the story." *Clerk Saunders* is "a mere (!) variation of the seven hostile brethren tale"; the commentator not perceiving that, apart from the poetic merit of the ballad, that is just where the interest of the story lies. In fact, he seems unable to perceive either the conditions of the "problem of diffusion" or the issues involved in it. He says "the late Professor Child's list of foreign ballads is in many respects invaluable, but it is possible to overrate or misunderstand its significance"; and credits Mr. Lang with the amazing opinion that many of our ballads must have existed "millions of years before the existence of any human records!" He then cites Professor Child against the very early



origin of ballad plots, without perceiving that the Professor's real point in the passage quoted is that the occurrence of the same ballad story in (say) Spain and Sweden does not necessarily prove that it was inherited by both from a common ancestor, as it might easily have been carried from one to another during the Middle Ages. Mr. Henderson himself accounts for the likeness of plots, (which he minimises), by coincidence and by conscious copying, and says that folklorists "appear to be quite unaware of the fact that there are romance stories common to nearly all the nations of Europe." This is the very point that the labours of the folklorists have established, and that not with regard to romances alone. Where, we may ask, did the romances get this common stock of stories from? Mr. Henderson makes no attempt to discuss the relations of the folktale to the romance and the ballad.

This want of grasp of the whole question of ballad-origins is the more surprising as Mr. Henderson refers freely to the writings of Mr. Frazer, Mr. Hartland, Principal Rhys, and other folklorists. Even a harmless ballad-ghost calls forth a note (vol. iii., p. 320), "For more definite superstitions regarding the return of ghosts see Fraser's [*sic*] *Golden Bough*, iii., 85-87."

Mr. Henderson's own view of the origin of ballads is that "the question is really one of poetic form." This, and the sort of irritation he shows in speaking of variants, lead us to suspect that, after all, the "origin" he desires to arrive at is simply the full-blown English (or Scottish) ballad as its now-forgotten author originally composed it. This we are afraid is a hopeless quest, for none can aver that even the earliest blackletter broadside (though necessarily unaltered by reciter or collector since publication) is the "original" ballad; the most corrupted "traditional" version of it may be inherited from an older form still. Meantime we turn with pleasure from Mr. Henderson's "Prefatory Note" to Scott's own "Introductory Remarks on Popular Poetry." Little as Sir Walter knew of folktales and the problems of their origin and diffusion, his mingled common sense and poetic insight enabled him to give a lucid exposition of the probable genesis of folk-song which we, with our infinitely wider knowledge, may largely supplement, but in which we shall find but little to correct.

CHARLOTTE S. BURNE.

THE HOME-LIFE OF BORNEO HEAD HUNTERS, ITS FESTIVALS AND FOLK-LORE. By WILLIAM HENRY FURNESS, 3<sup>d</sup>, M.D., F.R.G.S. Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Co., 1902.

THIS beautifully printed and profusely illustrated volume forms an important contribution to our knowledge of the natives of Sarawak. Dr. Furness is not content with superficial impressions, but takes pains to make himself, and his readers, acquainted with the trains of thought underlying the practices he describes. The chapters on Sarawak in Dr. Haddon's *Head-Hunters, Black, White, and Brown* (reviewed *supra*, p. 101), and the volume now before us, supplement one another, and should be read together.

It is natural to turn first to the descriptions of head-hunting and the traditions of its origin. The practice having been abolished, or at least restrained by the Rajah, the author had no opportunity of witnessing an actual head-hunt. He accompanied a war expedition; but the enemy had retired beyond reach. Inasmuch as it was impossible to think of returning without at least one head, a second-hand head had to be obtained by borrowing. The ceremonies (carefully described) which followed were, therefore, to some extent a make-believe. Yet there is no reason to think they did not accurately represent the originals. Dr. Furness made efforts to ascertain the meaning of the practice of head-hunting, and to follow the train of thought by which, as one of the chiefs told him, "those who were once our enemies become our guardians, our friends, our benefactors." The result does not carry us very far. It is certain that, once a head has been brought home and the appropriate ceremonies have been performed, it is regarded as a sacred object, the habitation or embodiment of some super-human spirit or spiritual power. A custom still fraught with peril to saintly personages in the East, as once in the West also, is that of securing a divinity by slaying some powerful or holy man. His spirit, abiding with or near the muddy vesture of decay which it has thus put off, becomes the guardian of the place. But Dr. Furness does not make it clear that this is the belief of the Sibops and other head-hunting tribes of Borneo. On the contrary, one of their chiefs told him: "If my head were cut off, my second self would go to Bulun Matai [the fields of the dead] where beyond a doubt I should be happy; the Dayongs [shamans, priests] tell us, and surely they know,



that those who have been brave and have taken heads, as I have, will be respected in that other world and will have plenty of riches. When I die my friends will beat the gongs loud and shout out my name, so that those who are already in Balun Matai will know that I am coming, and meet me when I cross over the stream on Bintang Sikópa [the great log]. I shall be glad enough to see them. But I don't want to go to-day, nor to-morrow." Hence it would appear that the spirits who become the guardians of the owners of the heads are not those of the original owners when the heads were those of living men. We must not be too sure of this, because the minds of savages are built, like other minds, in water-tight compartments, and frequently hold inconsistent opinions. Moreover, it would seem that the practice of head-hunting comes from without and is of recent introduction among many of the tribes.

It may be, therefore, that the practice is imperfectly assimilated by the peoples of Sarawak, that they do not understand its original purpose and have not thought out its logical relation with their indigenous religion, which it partly overrides; or it may be that there is something more to be learnt than Dr. Furness and Dr. Haddon have been able to ascertain concerning the religious beliefs of the Kenyahs and similar tribes of Borneo. Either hypothesis is consistent with the researches of Mr. Kruyt, a Dutch enquirer in Celebes and among the Dyaks and Battaks. The Toradja of Celebes, at all events, appear from his account to recognise a three-fold soul in every living being. That which is attached to the skull and is acquired by the head-hunter is only one soul of the three. The breath (the first of the three souls) expires at death, the personal soul departs to the place of souls, but the third is a part of the universal soul or vital ether. It is of this that the head-hunter becomes possessed. He deposits the skull in the shrine of his ancestral *manes*, and thereby augments their portion of the universal soul. It would be well if enquiries were made in the island of Borneo with a view to ascertain whether such ideas have any currency there.

Dr. Furness, I gather, never had the luck to be present at a birth or a marriage. Neither of these is among the incidents of the book. But the ceremonies attending the naming of a chief's son are detailed with minuteness. The name is given to a child about a year after birth. Until then the babe is under certain

restrictions, or taboos. One of these reminds us of our own superstition that a child must be carried upstairs before it is carried down. The Kenyah houses are built on piles and reached by a rude ladder; and a child must not be carried down the ladder to the ground until it has received a name. The naming is the formal admission of a babe to the kindred. If it die before the rite, there is no mourning for it. The rite is one of baptism; performed by a Dayong, who pours water over the baby's head, and says: "Be thy name so-and-so!" It is preceded by a number of sacrifices and other formalities, one of the most curious of which is that of procuring new fire by means of the sacred fire-saw.

The subject of taboo has a chapter to itself, and is besides copiously illustrated in treating of other matters. Personal adornments are discussed in a very interesting chapter, the value of which is much enhanced by the beautiful plates. The ear is distorted by piercing and prolonging the lobe, and among men by puncturing the shell to admit of the insertion of a tiger-cat's tooth. The eyebrows and eyelashes are pulled out. The teeth are blackened and pierced for the insertion of brass pins. Tattooing is practised. The patterns are elaborate and often of great beauty, but the suffering and risk incurred in producing them must be equally great. Yet ladies who had undergone the operation with fortitude looked in horror and amazement on pictures of European belles deformed with wasp-waists. They wondered, not merely at the ugliness but the pain at the cost of which the deformity must have been obtained.

Such are a few of the subjects with which Dr. Furness is concerned in this delightful book. It is written in a lively and humorous style, with much literary power, and is calculated to appeal to a wide circle of readers beyond professed anthropologists. The photographic illustrations are of great beauty, and also of permanent value as representations of scenes and objects which in a few years' time will either have perished or have been profoundly modified by the influence of British rule.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.



ANTIQUÉ WORKS OF ART FROM BENIN. By General AUGUSTUS PITT-RIVERS. 1900. 12s. 6d. Privately printed. To be obtained from B. T. Batsford, 94, High Holborn.

FROM Mr. B. T. Batsford we have received a copy of the privately printed *Antique Works of Art from Benin*, prepared with all the minute care, accuracy, and completeness that characterise the late General Pitt-Rivers' work. The interest of the volume lies in the plates, for the introduction is a brief historical note on the various expeditions to Benin, and the explanatory letterpress attached to the illustrations is a catalogue, not a criticism. Discovered by the Portuguese, probably in the early fifteenth century, Benin had been visited by the Dutch and by the Swedes before an English expedition arrived on the coast in 1553. It would seem at that time to have been a large town, and trade was encouraged by the king. Both the artistic works, with which this book is concerned, and the human sacrifices, for which the place was afterwards so notorious, were remarked on by a Dutchman—Nyendaeel—in 1702. Benin was visited by Sir Richard Burton and by Captain H. L. Galloway. The latter in 1892 described the city as a mere shadow of its former greatness, having decayed with the abolition of the slave trade. The unfortunate armed expedition into Benin in 1896, from which only two men escaped out of some two hundred and fifty, is within everyone's recollection. The casts, &c., illustrated in this book were found in the royal compound by the punitive expedition of 1897, together with many others, a fine collection of which is in the British Museum. Concerning their origin nothing could be learnt from the natives, although some were obviously used amongst the apparatus of the Ju-ju sacrifices. They were found buried, and covered with blood.

The forty-nine pages of excellent illustrations are well worthy of study, not merely by the folklorist, but by the ethnographer also, as showing, amongst other things, the native appreciation of varying human types. The differences between the realistic negro heads of Nos. 26, 82, 94-99, and 132 are as well marked as those between the Europeans of Nos. 129, 247, 298, and Plate 47. That the type shown in Plate 16 is that of the ruling class is apparent from the close correspondence between this and the conventionalised royal and noble figures on the ritual objects. General Pitt-Rivers

collection contains examples of every sort of work obtained at Benin. Of pottery there was hardly any—one small Negro's head being specially noted as exceptional; bronze was the usual material for bas-reliefs and weapons alike. Many specimens of carved ivory were also found, varying from armlets to trumpets carved out of a whole elephant's tusk. One leopard's mask (No. 153) is especially old. These masks, usually cast in bronze, are a great feature of Benin art. They are too small to have been worn on the face, and animal masks are as common as human. Many of the figures are represented as wearing heads slung round the waist, kiltwise, as an ornament. Necklaces, varying from beautifully finished casts of shells to a solid curved necklet representing vultures pecking at skeletons; elaborate four-sided bells, hanging lamps, stools, bowls, coffers and jugs, flasks (large and small), cast in bronze or carved out of cocoanut shells; the list is as interesting as it is long and varied.

Specially noteworthy are the dancing swords or wands of the virgins (Plate 29, No. 330), the sceptre decorated (amongst other things) with agricultural implements; and the elaborate royal mace—No. 66-72, where the enthroned king is holding a stone axe. The sacrificial blocks, Nos. 259-60, and 333-5, and the method of sacrificing an animal shown in the bas-relief on Plate 47 are also interesting, as are the few examples of attempted realism. After the human figure it was in birds that the Benin artists were most successful; their animals show want of observation. That Portuguese influence produced this special phase of West African art seems pretty certain. General Pitt-Rivers both held so himself, and quotes the similar opinion of Nyendaël in the eighteenth century. That the men represented are intended for Portuguese is clear from Nos. 84, 289, to take no other instances. Of the earliest Portuguese expedition there would seem to be little trace, as all the European figures that have survived are in sixteenth century costume, and the greatest artistic activity should probably be ascribed to that period. Nyendaël speaks of the actual production of casts as going on whilst he was in Benin, but later writers do not mention the art, which must therefore have died out during the eighteenth century. Space prevents us from giving a more detailed account, but General Pitt-Rivers' name is in itself a sufficient guarantee for the value and interest of the volume.

MARGARET EYRE.



HISTORY AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE MYTH-MAKING AGE. By  
J. F. HEWITT, Late Commissioner of Chotia Nagpur.  
With Map, Plates, and Diagrams. James Parker & Co.  
1901.

EVER since the beginnings of the study of myths, enquirers have been inclined, like Mr. Casaubon, to search for some one "key to all the mythologies." Often, as in the case of Max Müller and the nature school, they have hit on a true principle, and run it to death; so the latest exponent of this school, O. Gilbert, who derives everything from the clouds, has been led to propound the most fantastic theories in order to include everything. The day of totems too, seems to be waning; and of late years the tendency has been to exaggerate the importance of astronomy. This is exemplified in the works of Mr. Robert Brown, Jr., and Mr. St. Clair. The book now before us is a third instance of the same mistake.

Mr. Hewitt divides his work into books dealing successively with the Age of Polar Star Worship, the Age of Lunar-Solar Worship, and the Age of Solar Worship. He connects the religious beliefs which he sees, with the worship of trees and animals, with the various migrations of mankind, and with their arrangement of the calendar; and uses his principles to interpret certain legends of the saints and others. But these connections are not made clear. Probably they are clear to the writer, but to the reader they are not so. Nor is proof offered, other than coincidence, of the connection of astronomy with religion. The theories are, for the most part, propounded *ex cathedra*, and left to commend themselves by their inherent appropriateness. Symbolism and metaphor too often do duty for argument. Thus Mr. Hewitt says:

Achilles was the sun-god of the race of the Myrmidons or ants, the sons of the red earth, the Adamite race who succeeded the sons of the southern mother-tree, and who believed that man was formed from the dust of the earth moulded by the Divine Potter, the Pole-star god, who turned the potter's wheel of the revolving earth.

This is all pure imagination. Symbolism is also used to explain certain primitive signs, amongst them the sign for the female, which is clearly pictorial (p. 72). The Bœotian eel, in place of being a fisher's firstling, is also moralised (p. 128); so is the bed of

Odysseus (p. 144), where the potter's wheel reappears. There is no historical examination, as there should be, of the principles and limitations of symbolism, which, in western lands at least, plays a much smaller part than is usually assumed.

Mr. Hewitt also ventures on the dangerous ground of etymology. Eurytus, he says, comes from *ἐρύω*, Achæan from *ἔχαι*; *a*, *z*, and *s* are "interchangeable letters"; *ἄμφιγνῆεις* is the "one-legged fire-drill"; and so forth. Again: the oldest Cyclopean walls are said here to be accurately fitted polygonal; and there are many other signs that Mr. Hewitt's general knowledge is insufficient for the building up of a universal theory such as this.

But when we come to Indian questions, the case is altered. Mr. Hewitt can tell us by first-hand knowledge of the village system, sacred groves and common halls, of priestly ritual revealed to him as a special favour (p. 159), and the customs of Chotia Nagpur. We cannot help wishing he had confined himself to these topics, and give us in detail what he hints at or sketches in tantalising fashion. There is much of value to be learned from the book by a discriminating reader; but the general impression is one of confused statement and rash inference.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF SYRIA AND PALESTINE. By L. B. PATON.  
THE THEOLOGY AND ETHICS OF THE HEBREWS. By A. DUFF.  
The Semitic Series. Vols. iii. and iv. London: Nimmo.  
1902. 6s. each.

DR. PATON has written a model book. He has packed into a short compass the greater part of the new knowledge which modern discovery has given us of the pre-Israelitish history of Palestine. And his exposition of it is so orderly and lucid as to afford no excuse for misunderstandings on the part of the most uninstructed reader. Maps, which give evidence of having been compiled with great care, have been added to the text, and a valuable feature of the volume is the very full, if not exhaustive, list of books and articles bearing upon the subject of it. The book, in short, is the best account that has yet appeared of the early history of Syria.

Naturally, it is confined to results rather than to the collection of materials. It is, moreover, a compilation; Dr. Paton does not



profess to be an original authority, but trusts to others for his facts. Generally he shows himself a cautious and well-trained critic whose judgment may be depended on. Now and then, however, the inevitable weakness of second-hand information betrays itself, and statements are made which a first-hand acquaintance with the facts would have modified or prevented. Like most of his countrymen, Dr. Paton is a little too ready to accept the latest theory or pronouncement, especially if it comes from a German. What he says about the Khabiri is an illustration of this; whoever else they may have been they could not have been identical with the *khabbati* or "plunderers." The compound ideograph SA-GAZ, *khabbatu* in Assyrian, is a well-known ideograph; *khabiru* is a totally different word.

There are other questions about which more than one view is possible, and where therefore scholars are likely to differ as to which they prefer. Dr. Paton's chronology, for instance, seems to me far too short. Borchardt's date for the twelfth Egyptian dynasty is incompatible with what we already know of the number of the Egyptian kings, and rests on an application of astronomy to chronology which the want of scientific precision in the monumental record makes merely illusory. As Wiedemann and Oppert have pointed out, the date is just as likely on the same grounds to be between one and two thousand years earlier. The same is the case as regards Babylonian chronology. Our only authority for it is the native annals, and until we recover the materials that lay before the native annalists we have neither reason nor right to question their categorical statements. We may on purely *à priori* grounds think that Nabonidos exaggerated when he asserted that Naram-Din lived 3,200 years before his own time, but as long as the historical materials which Nabonidos possessed are not in our hands we have no better date to substitute for it.

Professor Duff's *Theology and Ethics of the Hebrews*, which forms the fourth volume of the Semitic Series, is a very different sort of work from Dr. Paton's. The crudeness and unsubstantiated character of its statements are equalled only by the confidence with which they are put forward. The Professor knows far more about the Hebrews and their history than the Old Testament writers, though the sources of his knowledge, archæological or otherwise, would be difficult to find. The nature of the book may be sufficiently gathered from the language its author uses of

the return from the Exile. "Men are asking," he tells us, "was there ever a return? The answer is becoming possible, and so far it is clearly in the negative." It is strange that Professor Duff and the school to which he belongs cannot see that those outside it require more solid evidence for the reversal of our traditional history than the "inner consciousness" or dogmatic pronouncement of the modern critic. We cannot draw historical conclusions from philology, whose province lies elsewhere, and "critical tact" is convincing only to the critic himself.

The series of which Professor Duff's volume forms part was introduced by a volume by myself, and I embrace the present opportunity to warn readers against putting their trust in the text of it. It was published without my having seen a single proof, the result being that it teems with misprints. Some of them are so obvious that every reader can correct them for himself; others unfortunately are such as need a knowledge of Assyriology for their detection. Even the one note contributed by the editor contains a printer's error.

A. H. SAYCE.

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SOHRAB AND RUSTEM: the Epic Theme of a Combat between Father and Son. A Study of its Genesis and Use in Literature and Popular Tradition. By MURRAY ANTHONY POTTER, A.M. London: David Nutt. 1902.

In this scholarly book, which in its original form was a doctorate thesis accepted by the authorities of Harvard University, Mr. Potter discusses a group of folktales of which one form is familiar to English readers in the delightful verses of Matthew Arnold. The skeleton of the tale describes how "a man departs from home, in war service, in search of adventure or for purposes of trade, leaving behind him a wife and son, perhaps unborn, or already quite a lad. He is absent for years. The boy grows up, and for some reason or other seeks his father, or the latter may finally return. In either case the two meet and, through lack of recognition, fight. The outcome may be either tragic or happy. In the former case the relationship is not discovered till one of the two combatants is mortally wounded. In the latter the contest is brought to a close by explanations." This, the Father



and Son Combat proper, appears in its oldest forms in the *Mahābhārata*, the Greek tale of Ulysses and Telegonus, the Irish *Cuchullainn Saga*, the Persian *Shāh Nāme*, the German *Hildebrandslied*, the Russian *Ilya* ballads, and elsewhere.

There are various forms of the narrative. In one class the father meets the mother away from home and the union is more or less ephemeral; in the other the marriage is contracted at home and the union is regarded as permanent. In most of the forms of the story, the variants of which are carefully reviewed by Mr. Potter, the most important points are: the uncertainty as to paternity, intimately connected with the man's marriage away from home; the prominent rôle played by the woman, either in wooing or in other ways; the callous abandonment by the father of mother and child; and, finally, the son's search for the father.

Mr. Potter mentions, and wisely rejects, various suggestions advanced to account for the Father and Son Combat incident, such as Miss Weston's theory that it represents a struggle between old and new divinities of vegetation, a theme illustrated in Dr. Frazer's treatment of the Arician rite; and Liebrecht's explanation that it arises from a custom, such as that found in Raratonga, where the son, as he grew up, fought with his father for the possession of the paternal property.

Mr. Potter's explanation is on quite other lines. He suggests that the marriage or connection of the woman with a stranger implies exogamy, and that the prominence of the rôle played by the woman is based on a condition of matriarchy, under which the woman has the fullest liberty of choosing her lover, while, as in marriages of the Beena form, the man lives permanently or only temporarily in the family of the relations of his bride, who retain the right to admit into their own clan the offspring of the union. In the course of the discussion of this theory Mr. Potter reviews at considerable length several questions connected with the early law of marriage, such as Exogamy, the Matriarchate, Polyandry and Polygamy, Divorce, Sexual Hospitality, Wooing and Lack of Chastity in women, and the *Swayamvara*, or Choosing of Husbands. These are all well-worn questions of anthropology; most of his instances are taken from familiar sources, and I am inclined to think that little fresh evidence, beyond that already to be found in books like those of Dr. Westermarck, is produced which is likely to advance the solution of the question.

It would have been more to Mr. Potter's purpose if he had directed his inquiry more particularly to the discussion of Temporary Marriages, on which his theory mainly depends. Thus he appears not to be aware that an early authority on Musulmān rites lays down that among Shiah Mahomedans the child begotten by a *Mut'ah* or temporary marriage is considered preferable to all others (*The Dabistān*, quoting the *Korān*, *Sūrah*, iv., 28), and that the historian Badāoni (*Ain-i-Akbari*, ed. Blochmann, i., 174) describes the curious discussion on the subject before the Emperor Akbar, where "the 'Ulamas, having collected every tradition on the subject, decreed, firstly, that by *Mut'ah* a man might marry any number of wives he pleased; and, secondly, that *Mut'ah* marriages were allowed by the Imām Mālik. The Shiahs, as was well known, loved children born in *Mut'ah* wedlock more than those born by *Nikāh* wives (*i.e.* those married by the regular ritual), contrary to the Sunnis and the Ahl-i-Jamā'at." Again, he does not appear to have investigated with sufficient care the widespread custom of taking wives on trial, or leasing them to a person other than the original husband. He quotes with hesitation the assertion of Bunsen that there are even at the present day in Yorkshire cases where the people live on probation, and marriage takes place only if a child is likely to born, or born. The custom, of course, is common in rural England and Scotland. Thus Smeaton, in his *Account of the Building of Eddystone Lighthouse* (second edition, 1793, p. 65), states that this has been the custom on that island from time immemorial. A writer in the *Contemporary Review* (May, 1899, pp. 720 *seqq.*) asserts that in rural Prussia a large proportion of marriages occur only after the consequences of an irregular connection become obvious. This and the custom of "handfasting" were or are common in Scotland (Dalyell, *Darker Superstitions*, p. 283). Readers of Sir Walter Scott will remember the rebuke given by the reformed preacher, Henry Warden, to the Baron of Avenel, in the *Monastery*, for the latter's opinions on the practice. Even at the present time, in Central England, cases of leasing wives may be met with. At Stone, in Staffordshire, a few years ago, a woman was asked in a police court if she was married or single, and replied, "No, I'm not married, I'm on a lease"; adding, "I suppose it's all the same."

The obvious objection to Mr. Potter's conclusions, and one which he himself fully recognises, is that in none of the stories



which he quotes do we see the Matriarchate family appearing with all its distinctive features. While some of the instances which he gives go a certain way to remove this difficulty, it can hardly be admitted that he has quite succeeded in supplying the missing link. This can only be reached by an investigation *de novo* from original sources of the incidents of these forms of marriage connection.

At any rate, Mr. Potter has broken new ground, and has given us a very interesting and suggestive book, which will form an excellent basis for more detailed treatment of an important cycle of popular tradition.

W. CROOKE.

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#### SHORT NOTICES.

*Sir Cleges. Sir Libeaus Desconus.* Two Old English Metrical Romances rendered into prose by JESSIE L. WESTON. With designs by CAROLINE M. WATTS. [Arthurian Romances unrepresented in Malory, No. V.] David Nutt. 1902.

Of the two stories here modernised by Miss Weston, the first is a short semi-humorous piece, apparently by a cleric, containing the well-known fabliau motive of the man who, having to promise half his reward for some act to another person, begs for so many blows as his guerdon. The idea is, of course, found in a number of variants, and appears *inter alia* in Sacchetti's *Novelle* and a fifteenth-century collection of Latin stories; it is also said to be familiar among the Berbers of Africa. The other story, that of Sir Libeaus Desconus or Le Bel Inconnus, contains a variety of motives which constantly reappear in different combinations in Arthurian literature. First we have the boy brought up by his mother alone in the forest in ignorance of knightly deeds going to Arthur's court; next the damsel who arrives at the court in search of succour and flouts the young warrior allotted her as champion; and so forth. On all these points succinct information is given in the notes. Other traits seem to be survivals from earlier forms of the story, and have lost their significance. Thus Miss Weston notes that Sir Griffroun was probably originally a magician, while

Sir Otis de Lisle's brachet was no doubt a supernatural animal. One point of this description has passed unnoticed. In the final encounter one of the magician-knights escapes wounded, and Sir Libeaus laments his want of foresight in not dispatching him at once, as he is sure to suffer harm from him later. Of course we ought to hear more of this, instead of which the adventure ends rather abruptly. This is then apparently a survival from an earlier version, and it might be adduced as evidence in favour of this form of the story (in which the enchanters Mabon and Yrain are two and not one), being the more original. The story closes with the hero being kissed by a "worm" or dragon, who thereupon turns into a beautiful woman. This is an event of frequent occurrence; but there are two points which so far as we know are peculiar to the present version. In the first place the worm has a woman's face. In the second the worm kisses the hero, not the hero the worm, as it should be. This is probably due to the hero being, as we are informed, petrified at the sight of the beast, and would seem to be most likely a purely literary vagary on the part of the poet. It is however always well to speak with caution on such points.

WALTER W. GREG.

*The Sin of Witchcraft.* By ALEXANDER PULLING. D. Nutt. 1s.

We have here a paper read at a meeting of the Hitchin Society of Arts and Letters on February 15th last. In the short space of an address it was not possible to do more than pick out the salient points necessary for Mr. Pulling's thesis, and this task he has successfully accomplished. His study is entirely of a literary character, and consists of a brief but useful survey of the chief points about witchcraft which occur in classical and mediæval literature. We do not pretend to suggest that he has presented any new view of its origin and the causes of its revival; but at least he has not added any fresh errors to those accumulated round the subject, and he has carefully abstained from that worst "sin of witchcraft," which consists in suggesting a whole host of theories without adducing a single foundation in evidence. His readers will have nothing to unlearn.

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## ERRATA.

*See also list on page vii.*

- Page 280, line 31. *For A. J. ROSE read H. A. ROSE.*  
 Page 388, line 26. *For Itaziptec read Itaziptco.*  
 Page 389, line 2. *For Bird read Burd.*

N. 2









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